

THE ✓ PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

The Story Behind the Making of the Revised
Standard Version of the Bible

Bruce M. Metzger

The Seminary in a Metropolitan Society

Gibson Winter

Church History and the Bible

Karlfried Froehlich

Sermons:

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The World Inside Out

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Facing God Together

Daniel C. DeArment

VOLUME I, NUMBER 4

NEW SERIES 1978



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Editor

Donald Macleod

Review Committee

David R. Adams

Donald H. Juel

Elizabeth G. Edwards

Thomas W. Mann

G. Robert Jacks

John M. Mulder

George W. Stroup

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Excerpta et Commentaria

by the EDITOR

Shift in Campus Attitudes

MARTIN MARTY, editor and historian, thinks that among the freedoms remaining to us is the very responsible one: freedom to change our attitudes. Evidences of renewed exercise of this freedom are seen from a study, sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, which featured an in-depth survey of student and faculty attitudes on 400 academic campuses throughout the nation. The survey, which was begun in 1975, was compared with a similar study concluded in 1969, and involved both the collation and comparison of data secured from 25,000 undergraduates, 25,000 graduate students, and 25,000 faculty members. The director of both studies, Dr. Martin Trow of the University of California at Berkeley, has made public some of the changes in campus attitudes during the years between the two reports:

- (i) A sharp drop in undergraduate opposition to the death penalty, from 60 percent in 1969 to 36 in 1976.
- (ii) Support for abolishing the grading system as an improvement in undergraduate education decreased from 59 to 32 percent. A similar trend in the matter of ending required courses registered a drop from 51 to 35 percent.
- (iii) An increase in the percentage of undergraduates who indicated satisfaction with their schools: a rise from 66 to 71 percent; "on the fence," from 22 to 20 percent; and dissident, from 12 to 9 percent.
- (iv) The number of faculty members and students who favored a more relaxed attitude towards the use of marijuana increased significantly: the number of undergraduates who supported suspension or dismissal for offenders dropped from one-third to one-fifth and among faculty from 58 to 26 percent.
- (v) Support for a policy of admitting more students from disadvantaged or minority groups "even if it means relaxing normal academic standards of admission" dropped from 29 to 22 percent among undergraduates, 37 to 20 percent among graduate students, and 37 to 27 percent among faculty. Moreover, "opposition also grew towards relaxing academic requirements in appointing faculty from such minority groups."

Among areas of broader concern, the survey indicated a mix of stable attitudes in some cases and a more radical shift in others. (a) Religion: very little change was seen between the 1969 and 1976 polls. Three-quarters of the students in both groups endorsed the statement, "I believe in a God who judges men." (b) Politics: the number of students identifying themselves as left or liberal dropped from 45 to 35 percent and those who described themselves as middle-of-the-road rose slightly; conservatives, however, moved up from 17 to 23 percent. (c) Social and economic

strategies: students are less radical now than in the late 60's and were generally less so then than the media made them out to be. The media, Dr. Trow reflects, in the 60's, "confused a very visible expression by a very passionate minority" for widespread discontent on academic campuses. On the other hand, more faculty members favor collective bargaining, with opposition dropping from 38 to 28 percent. Indeed about two-thirds of the faculty members who responded felt there were circumstances in which a strike would be "a legitimate means of collective bargaining for any school's faculty."

The chairman of the Carnegie Council of Policy Studies in Higher Education, Dr. Clark Kerr, acclaimed the report as a very positive contribution for he sees a closing of the gap between "public and campus opinion" and feels that the whole shift in attitudes which this data signify portends well for "popular support for higher education."

Rumors and Mongers

In the last Quarter (1976) issue of the *Journal of Organizational Communication*, George L. Voss of Omark Industries, Portland, Oregon, has a delightful article entitled, "How to Classify and Identify Rumors and Their Mongers." Voss had been watching rumor mongers for some time and, although he acknowledges that every company and organization have their share, his findings have been gathered necessarily from the context in which he is employed. "Stretching into every department," he writes, "subsisting on little nourishment, tended with loving care after growing from wind-blown seed to sometimes frightening maturity in hours, the grapevine is one of industry's perennial and prolific plants. . . . Despite a never-failing harvest of untruths, unease, and occasional panic, there's no lack of volunteers eager to plant a new crop."

Although rumors are as varied as the plurality of their possible permutations and combinations, yet they have certain characteristics in common: (i) The lead sentence begins with "I just heard . . ." or "Did you hear about . . ." and then the tasty tidbit follows. (ii) Although the factual content may be at the moment unverifiable, yet the speed of its transmission is comparable with that of light (186,282 miles per second) and can leave spoiled reputations and communal demoralization in its wake. (iii) The fruits of the grapevine do not require any factual basis to ripen and they are of as many species as varieties of vendors. Voss feels that the serious side of all this lies in the fact that "rumors are dangerous because they are distracting, often demoralizing, and frequently vicious."

Everyone is capable of making up his or her own list of purveyors of what Voss calls "the breathless phrase." However, he singles out seven persons who are, in his opinion, the "best of the breed."

(i) *The Mystery Man*: His news releases originate with a vague and shadowy "they." "They say" is the lead phrase, but they are never identified and, Voss says, they have "the cunning of a Machiavelli, the knowledge of college freshmen, and the wisdom of a new father." Their ESP is extraordinary and never to be doubted.

(ii) *D.C. Dan*: His superior boast is his Direct Connections. His data has come "straight from the top." He has direct access to the "top brass," even the leader of

government and hence his rumors always wear the aura of Holy Writ.

(iii) *The Psychologist*: This person is what Voss calls "the rumor spreader's rumor spreader." He is Mr. Rumor himself. Not only does he carry the precious item but he "analyzes it in terms of development, the psychology behind it and the psychotic or neurotic overtones that prove, indisputably, that *this* one is for real."

(iv) *Super Ear*: This type, Voss says, "is recognizable by well developed, perhaps even jug-like ears." His further competency is an uncanny ability to group or connect "totally unrelated snatches of conversation" and "turning them into polished gems that are almost a delight to hear."

(v) *The Third Cousin of a Distant Relative*: He has relatives everywhere—inside and outside the organization or corporation. For him these people exist for one purpose only, namely, to keep him informed of "strange and wonderful happenings that will take place soon . . . very soon." Moreover, everyone is expected to believe that "all this person's sources are impeccable."

(vi) *The Insider*: This fellow has a *modus operandi* all his own. He tosses off a completely staggering rumor with seeming nonchalance and when the hearer registers due amazement he smiles and says, "Oh, didn't you know. . . ?" The implication is that "everyone of importance is already in the know."

(vii) *The Editorialist*: This type is an expert in the use of his imagination. He ties together a miscellany of assorted truths in the form of a springboard and projects a result that borders on the fantastic. If the hearer discerns what is going on and does not become upset, Voss declares that "listening to this guy is a sheer delight." Watch him in awe.

China's English Dictionary

Some months ago, Hong Kong publishers featured a new 1,700-page English-Chinese dictionary, the first to have appeared in over a decade. Edited originally in Shanghai, *A New English-Chinese Dictionary* represents the work of seventy persons from Fudan University, Shanghai Teachers College, the Shanghai Institute of Foreign Languages, and a broad cross section of common workers in factories and schools. Although the aim of the compilers, according to the introduction, has been to define words and phrases akin to their country's socialist revolution, yet they took care to add that "in view of the fact that an English-Chinese dictionary is expected by its users to help them read English and American books and periodicals and understand present-day English and American society, we have incorporated among our entries some words and phrases that reflect the decadent social phenomena of a dying capitalism, some even with a reactionary political slant."

The dictionary may be described as a compendium of contemporary American and English usage, ranging over broad areas of science, government, sport, and slang. Among its 50,000 entries and 30,000 additional compounds and derivatives, some definitions are straightforward linguistic equivalents whereas many others contain a measure of Chinese Communist sentiment. American contemporary political, social, and cultural identity is reflected in the inclusion of such words as:

stonewall, Ms., Pentagon, Frankenstein, Polaris, NATO, SEATO, Disneyland, Monday-morning quarterback, zip code, etc. Peculiarities include examples of frankness, of political coloring, and of simple naïveté. For example, "pull" is illustrated by this comment, "In a capitalist society, one can hardly get a job without 'pull'"; "heir" is followed by this remark, "The Indochinese peoples are heirs to a glorious revolutionary tradition"; "Beatles" are described as "a four-man English band of the 1960's"; "Hong Kong" is part of "Kwangtung Province, occupied by England"; "Taiwan" is "an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China." Then there are oddities, such as, "walkie-lookie" (a portable TV set); "turned of 60" (a person who has "turned 60"); a novice at a sports game is referred to as "strange at football." More curious still is the inclusion of a considerable listing of American slang, such as porno, hardcore, streaking, grass, pot, groupie, groovy, and chick. Military terms, however, receive exhaustive handling by the compilers, although terms such as "détente," "hegemony," and "revisionism," are given no definition apart from printing the equivalent Chinese linguistic characters. The book sells, incidentally, for the surprisingly reasonable price of eight dollars.

Charlesworth, Pseudepigrapha, and All That

The Religion Editor of the St. Petersburg (Florida) *Times*, in a summer issue of "Crossroads," its magazine of religion, presented an interesting account of recent explorations of the significance and content of the little known body of religious literature called the Pseudepigrapha (pronounced soo-de-PIG-ra-fa). For many centuries, Jeanne Pugh writes, "theologians and biblical scholars have pondered the curious 200-year gap in 'inspired religious writings' that exists between the Old Testament of Judaism and the New Testament of Christianity." Certain questions have engaged the interest of biblical students: Why was there such an abrupt break in religious thought between the Jews and Christians? Why is so little known about the period when Jesus walked the earth? Why are there available so few actual eyewitness accounts of his ministry? The answers to these queries, Pugh feels, lie "in a collection of writings that for 2,000 years have lain discredited and ignored in dusty archives throughout the world and have been rediscovered and authenticated as a result of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947."

Any church historian will tell us that early Jewish religious leaders cut off the addition to their scriptures of any writings dated later than 165 B.C. For 800 years after the crucifixion Christian scholars addressed themselves to this problem in the formation of the New Testament and decided finally upon twenty-seven books which were identified as originating no earlier than A.D. 68. Initially Christian leaders had added fourteen books to the Old Testament which were subsequently excised at the time of the Reformation and labelled as Apocrypha (meaning, "of questionable authorship or authenticity"). The criteria by which the decisions of these ecclesiastics were made included "relevance to their own religious and theological concepts," but in some cases the action was purely arbitrary.

Within three years, however, the English speaking world will have access for the

first time "in an assembled volume of translated ancient manuscripts, the whole treasury of forty-seven books of the Pseudepigrapha that have been given new credence in the last thirty years."

This publication enterprise is under the direction of James H. Charlesworth, a member of the faculty of Duke University's Divinity School in Durham, North Carolina, with whom a team of thirty-five translators are at work in eleven countries. Charlesworth, whose work has been described in the June, 1977, issue of the *Duke Alumni Register*, calls his project an attempt to recover the "lost bicentennial" and predicts for it a role in softening strained relations between Christians and Jews and the possibility of fresh intimations of the ministry of Jesus.

The existence of these "lost" writings had been known for centuries, Charlesworth says, but their scattered locations, poor condition (many were in various stages of disintegration), and inaccurate identifications and translations (some were discovered to be of medieval origin) had frustrated any serious accumulation or exploration of them until approximately 100 years ago. This effort was intensified with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the revelation that among "the findings at Qumran were fragments of both the Pseudepigrapha and the Apocrypha, along with the entire Old Testament book of Isaiah and numerous other identifiable fragments of the Bible." These materials were identified as belonging to the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 70 which had been thus far a closed era to scholars and theologians. Interest was deepened with the prospect that these discoveries and translations might provide (i) fresh information about the times of Christ; (ii) some writings by his immediate contemporaries; (iii) observations by persons who may have reflected his influence; and (iv) the key to the "change in religious thought that led to the emergence of Christianity."

Charlesworth's fascinating story includes the forays of his co-workers into libraries in Leningrad, Moscow, Paris, Vienna, Rome, Beirut, Oxford, London, and Addis Ababa. The co-ordinating center is Duke's Pseudepigrapha Institute, founded in 1974, where microfilmed items are gathered and translators continue their craft in the hope of completing their work in 1980.

Of special interest is one account of a discovery by Charlesworth himself of "one of the lost books while doing research in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England. Deep in its archives he uncovered a bundle of papers tied with a string. He identified the works as 15th Century manuscripts written in Syriac, a dialect of the language spoken by Jesus. Within the collection he found a copy of the *Treatise of Shem*, a work named after the son of Noah and listed among the missing books referred to in other ancient writings. The copy is the only one known to exist in the modern world."

"What we have here (in the Pseudepigrapha)," says Charlesworth, "is a whole library of books from the most important era in Western thought." He adds disparate notes about certain writings: In *Odes of Solomon* passages appear which suggest the author was a contemporary of Jesus. *The Treatise of Shem* indicates some Jews were astrologers and may provide intimations regarding the significance of the Star of Bethlehem. In the *Apocalypse of Zosimus* there occur "well-developed concepts of resurrection and after-life" which were alien to Old Testament

thought. This new publication will consist not only of the newest and most improved translations of all the books known to exist, but will have also "commentaries written by both Christian and Jewish scholars that will attempt to show how the Pseudepigrapha provides a thread of continuity between the Old and New Testaments."

Of the Making of Encyclopedias . . .

Ten years ago Random House, publishers, launched a major international venture which reached its completion on September 30. The project was begun under the joint auspices of Random House in the United States and Mitchell Beazley Limited in England and arrangements have been made already for fourteen other publishing houses in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East to use the basic information for their own editions between now and 1980. Leading scholars and essayists from both sides of the Atlantic are among the contributors; e.g., Sir Bernard Lovell, the University of Manchester, wrote the article on the universe; Loren Eiseley, the University of Pennsylvania, on man; Christopher Hill, Baliol, Oxford, on history and culture; and Salvador Luria, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on life on earth.

This new volume, which features many diagrams and color photographs, contains 2,856 pages. Innovative arrangements include "colorpedia" in which pictures and text are integrated and "alphapedia" which comprises 25,000 entries of varying lengths from 20 to 1,500 words. With a view to family use the encyclopedia contains a complete, full-color Rand McNally Atlas with a 48-page index and an equally useful "time chart" paralleling events in human civilization from the dawn of history to the present. The book has over three million words, and sells for \$69.95. The original financial investment reached seven million dollars, exclusive of printing and publishing. Over 800 scholars were involved in the research and writing of the encyclopedia. The editor in chief was James Mitchell of Mitchell Beazley Limited, London, and the editorial director was Jess Stein, vice president of Random House, who had served as editor in chief of the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* of eleven years ago.

Exit Sunday

A member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Robert K. Manoff, offers a prognosis of the probable results the advent of Sunday shopping will have in New York City. Over a hundred years ago, he indicates, Karl Marx asserted that "religion . . . is the opium of the people." By this he implied that religion was "objectionable because it distracted people from demanding a better life in the here and now by promising it instead in the hereafter." And since traditionally Sunday had become a day for religious exercises and devotion and for focusing upon that transcendence which belief in God includes, it was naturally an early casualty in the Marxist system.

Quietly and for very different reasons the erosion of Sunday has become an accelerated process in the nation's largest city. Blue laws had proved to be ineffective against the swelling tide of small shops and businesses which had found loop

holes enough to circumvent any legal restraining orders. The dike crumbled finally when the "name" department stores opened their doors on Sunday and advertised business hours in clear conflict with religious services of worship, particularly Protestant.

In view of what is now a *fait accompli*, Professor Manoff states that the first result is that "The Lord's Day is becoming the market's." This integration affects basically the American family in two areas: time and space.

(i) Few institutions have been under greater contemporary attack than the family. "The suburbs," writes Manoff, "have battered middle class families, and the ghettos have bruised poor ones. In both, moreover, wives and mothers are entering the job market in unprecedented numbers, partly for economic and partly for feminist reasons." Regardless of where these women will now lay the blame—oppression or denial of privilege or both—there was, on the positive side, "a reprieve from the requirements of the world of work." And this respite "helped preserve the family as a place of intimacy undeprecated by the marketplace, even if they did so at a great cost to themselves."

To support this view, Professor Manoff quotes the social theorist, Max Horkheimer, who wrote, "There are ideas and forces at work which in the bourgeois system of life rarely have any place but the family where they can survive at all . . . to this extent, the family cultivates the dream of a better condition for mankind." Whatever may be said of the simulated piety of much of the Lord's Day observances, rules, and restrictions, they "nevertheless affirmed possibilities of human relations obscured by six market days of competition and unrelenting labor."

But Sunday shopping creates a new and somewhat unpromising situation. "As a wage-earner subject to the demands of the market," writes Manoff, "the wife and mother can no longer preserve nonmarket values for the family, which as a whole is finding less time to create its unique form of intimacy. Sunday shopping means that even this time will be market time, and that the day the family once spent together in worship and joint activities will become, like all the others, a market day."

(ii) This blurring of the distinction between the Lord's Day and market day affects family space as well. "Think of waking," Manoff continues, "in the city on Sunday. Although some people no longer worship in the morning, the city itself has a reverential air. It comes to life slowly, even reluctantly, as traffic lights blink their orders to empty streets. Next, joggers venture forth, people out for the paper, families going to church or grandma's. Soon the city is its Sunday self: People cavort with their children, discuss, make repairs, go to museums, gambol. Few people go to work, and any shopping is incidental. The city on Sunday is a place outside the market. Play dominates, not the economy."

Now, Sunday shopping, our writer declares, is "a blow to this kind of city. The market sweeps everything before it, and we can expect the Sunday city soon to appear like its weekday self. Its citizens will buy and sell to each other as they do the rest of the week, and the rich variety of nonmarket life and institutions

will tend to disappear. The city, various, complex, cosmopolitan, will be instead just a store."

The "market Sunday," then, signals the erosion of "the rhythm of the weekly cycle" and "family time and space are becoming increasingly homogeneous." The inevitable course will be the market's conquest of the city and "for what we buy on the Lord's Day we will pay a high price indeed: the loss of time and space to do other things, to think other thoughts, and to be other people."

Taizé: Doctrine of Sharing

Dotted across the old world are numerous and famous retreat centers and shrines to which through the centuries pilgrims, visitors, and tourists (these are not always identical) have come by every available means of transportation and, indeed, frequently even on foot. Retreat centers have been spared much of the cheap commercialism (religious and otherwise) which has been a common and unfortunate feature of many shrines. Whatever may have been the original *raison d'être* of the shrine or the evidence perpetuating its credibility, rarely has it escaped the bogus claims many people have attached to it or the commercialism with which it has been surrounded. All these unhappy things aside, however, the fact of serious religious people on pilgrimage has left its positive imprint upon the literature and the reservoirs of devotion of the whole human race, especially among Christians.

Probably one of the most authentic retreat centers in the Western world is located in the tiny village of Taizé in Bourgogne, France. Recently a *New York Times* correspondent, George Vecsey, gave us an up-to-date accounting of this widely known and highly respected center of religious thought and devotion. "Every weekend," he writes, "over 1,000 visitors reach Taizé, by motorbike, chartered bus, jalopy and limousine, to live in tents, pray in silence and study a doctrine of sharing between the West and the third world."

"The attraction," he continues, "is an ecumenical Christian brotherhood, founded in 1940 by a Presbyterian minister, Roger Schutz (1974 recipient of the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion). At first the community sought only solitude, but Brother Roger's search for simplicity has brought him recognition from Popes and wandering youths."

The retreat center began in 1940 when Brother Roger came to Taizé to minister to refugees who were escapees from German occupation of the northern section of France. "It was a spiritual adventure," said Roger in his interview with Vecsey, "I wanted to go where there was human distress." After the end of World War II, a group of brothers of various Christian sects joined Roger in an adventure of "simple isolation," but soon the world from every sector trudged to their gate. "A week of Taizé is something like a week at the United Nations," writes Vecsey. "Among the visitors last week (July 17-23, 1977) were a nun from South Korea, a youth worker from Kenya, a priest from Zaire, a theologian from Australia, and two women Episcopal priests from America."

A Lutheran theologian from Stuttgart, West Germany, summed up his own impressions of a week at Taizé in this way: "To me, this is the spiritual center of

Christianity today. Rome is the institution. Jerusalem is history. But Taizé is the sign of hope for the future." An American clergyman asserted, "My only hope is to transfer the spirit of Taizé back home."

From the outset the orientation of Taizé has been towards young people. "The mood is an extremely serious Woodstock," the reporter said. It engulfs the tiny village and spreads out into the cultivated valleys. "Young people wear jeans and sing late into the night, get meager meals and have barely adequate beds. They participate in discussion groups much of the day." Moreover, "There is no preaching, no American hard-sell evangelism, no attempts at conversion. People with other beliefs are encouraged to attend. But when the bell rings at the church—built by German Christians as a gesture of reparation—some ninety per cent of the visitors join the quiet worship." After the youth demonstrations in 1968 in Berlin, Paris, and Chicago, young people in increasing numbers came uninvited, "seeking a Christian approach to change." A Dutch-born brother added: "The fact is that many of us at Taizé were in the same situation as these young people. We saw ecumenic stagnation in the churches. We wanted to express a confidence in the new generation."

Earlier this year Brother Roger visited India and Bangladesh and issued a tract called a "Second Letter from Taizé" in which he wrote in part: "Resist the urge to consume—the more you buy, the more you need. The accumulation of reserves, for yourself or for your children, is the beginning of injustice." He called for "changing history," but the method must be "through local efforts of individuals." Later this year he hopes to visit China—whose people are the focus of his prayers. "Christianity is sharing from the heart, but Communism is sharing under the law," he has declared. The mood at Taizé, the reporter comments, "leans toward the spiritual rather than the political." Brother Roger is "the refracting prism of Taizé. When he prays with you, 'you feel purified'" (a phrase from a Brown University student).

Ignorance Classified

Most encyclopedias increase in size and volume with each successive edition. Reuters News Agency reports a new and amazing event in publishing: an encyclopedia which "is designed to shrink as man finds out more about his world." It is called *The Encyclopedia of Ignorance* and consists of a compendium of "what man does not know in the sciences, as discoveries are made—about how gravity works, how plants produce flowers, and why people become addicted to drugs and alcohol."

This unique volume (published by Pergamon Press, Oxford, New York, and Toronto) features contributions from sixty disinquished scientists who write on what they do not understand in their respective disciplines but hope eventually to be enlightened. The opening essay is by Otto Frisch, an expert on nuclear fission, who raises the question: Why? "Why does what happens in nature happen at all? Is it a matter of chance or an expression of natural law?" Sir Hermann HonDI, a member of the Department of Energy in the British Ministry of Defence, continues the theme of Frisch's speculation by declaring that "despite scientists' de-

sires for 'complete' theories, our most successful theories in physics are those that explicitly leave room for the unknown." Francis H. C. Crick, Nobel Prize winner, who collaborated in describing the double-helix shape of the genetic material DNA, comments in the section on life and earth on contemporary problems in the analysis of biological systems. "Our ignorance," he writes, "of developmental biology has the following curious feature: we understand how an organism can build molecules although the largest of them is far too minute for us to see, even with a highpowered microscope. Yet we do not understand how it builds a flower or a hand or an eye, all of which are plainly visible to us." Many secrets are locked up in the nervous system of an animal, for example, and none of us knows "how the nerves' growth is directed and how they are hooked up."

Reuters comments: "Though this book will be out of date as quickly as a more typical encyclopedia, it is a change to be able to read experts setting forth the profundity of their ignorance rather than the profundity of their knowledge."

Contemporary Hymns

A Canadian minister, The Reverend Moir A. J. Waters, forbidden by his physician for health reasons to preach any more, turned to composing hymns which hitherto had been a casual avocation. With the title, *Make a Joyful Noise!*, Waters has published privately a collection of thirty of his own compositions, each of which is prefaced with a commentary regarding its origin and the dynamics which engendered it. "Some hymns," Waters writes, "seem to have come to me almost effortlessly, while others have emerged through 'great tribulation.' I have wrestled with the ideas and the words, writing and rewriting as I groped for an elusive phrase or concept. Some have taken minutes, others hours, and some others days to write." Professionals have their own criteria by which they judge the acceptability of hymns and among these are: Are they singable? Are they rooted in the faith? And, are they written in the language of our time? However, the final test of any hymn, as Al Forrest indicates in the Foreword, is this question: will choirs and congregations pick them up and sing them? Dr. Waters has had the happy satisfaction of hearing his own hymns sung by choirs and congregations on occasions when he was present and through religious broadcasts. Here is his Easter hymn (Tune: Austria):

Hail this Easter morning dawning,
Triumph of the empty tomb!
See the Cross with glory shining,
No more room for doubt or gloom!
Death is vanquished, Life has conquered,
In our Risen Lord and King!
Life victorious to assure us,
Stirs our hearts to praise and sing!

Now the Cross, no longer symbol
Of the agony and shame
Tells the world of God's redemption,

Heralds forth—Messiah came!
Empty Cross, a stark reminder
Of the cost God paid for sin,
Offers us his love victorious,
And the victory we can win.

Christ the Crucified and Risen,
Take the fear of death away!
Life eternal is our promise,
Now, tomorrow and alway.
Hail the Easter morning dawning,
As together we rejoice.
Take our lives for your own service,
And our praise with soul and voice.

(Copies of the booklet, "Make a Joyful Noise!", may be obtained from Dr. Moir A. J. Waters, 383 Wharncliffe Road North, London, Ontario, Canada N6G 1E4. \$2.00).

Bringing People Back to Church

No parish minister has escaped an encounter with the perennial and troublesome query: why do some people not ever come to church? Leaders in Protestant and Roman Catholic congregations have taken up the challenge of this question and through the services of polls and questionnaires have come up with results which have shaped new parish policies. Recently Kenneth A. Briggs reported on an extensive poll among fourteen Roman Catholic parishes on New York City's East Side, known generally as the Yorkville Area. "We wanted to find out," said the chairman of the area council, "why many people were no longer coming to mass. Many people had theories and guesses, but we wanted the professionals to help us out."

The survey, conducted by the Archdiocesan Office of Pastoral Research, was spread among a group of Roman Catholics, one third of whom no longer attended mass regularly. The results exposed three foci: the reasons for abandoning church attendance were (i) loss of faith in the church's central mysteries; (ii) dissatisfaction with the way liturgy is performed; and (iii) distress over alleged fuzziness by church leaders on religious and social issues.

In view of these findings, a number of parishes initiated some remedial strategies to combat what they felt to be a dangerous trend. More new programs *per se* were regarded as merely a facile answer. What was needed, they felt, were services that "better meet religious, social and ethical needs." One parish promoted "home and apartment house masses to bring the church closer to where people live." Another launched a drive to contact lapsed members by mail. Still another organized a system of parish discussions on "faith and morals and Scripture teaching as interpreted by noted theologians." Among the more distinctive and useful movements was the emergence of greater lay responsibility in parish affairs. Lay people appeared interested in taking up "difficult and painful issues—such as this dramatic

disaffection from the church—and facing it squarely in a climate of self-examination, in contrast with the secrecy that sometimes marked Roman Catholic affairs in the past.”

The results of the poll were received throughout the parishes, however, with a certain anticipated ambivalence. Some felt their notion was confirmed that non-attenders were non-believers anyway. Others were convinced in their assumption that “most people who stayed at home still held to the church’s central beliefs.” Some others felt the survey did not take demographic differences sufficiently into account and endorsed too generally the opinion that “affluence and high levels of education produce more secular-minded people.” The archdiocese office, through one of its spokesmen, sensed a serious mood in the returns which contained again and again “many expressions of anguish and signs of continued searching.” One clergyman observed, “My impression is that if many of them could find themselves at home again in the church they would like to.” And a non-attender at mass remarked, “I wish I could believe in God, because I think that throughout the centuries the people with the greatest sense of reality believed in Him.”

Linguistic Isolationism

The secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies (Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington) deplors “one of the strongest and most persistent trends in American education today—the decline of foreign-language and foreign-area studies.” This trend raises a critical question, he says: “Will the current generation be adequately prepared to function in an interdependent world?”

The statistics are disturbing. “The percentage of college undergraduates studying languages other than English has been dropping steadily since 1963, with the rate of decline reaching fifteen per cent during the past two years.” In the high schools a somewhat similar situation obtains: “Scarcely a fifth of high school graduates,” Starr laments, “now have had even a superficial exposure to any language besides their own.”

What has occurred in the area of language studies is somewhat paralleled in the area of foreign culture. Despite the availability of study programs on China, Africa, and the Soviet Union, these courses are not given high priority by the average student. “The American Council on Education estimates that only about one in twenty undergraduates enrolls in courses that consider foreign peoples in any way,” Starr reported. Indeed “the number of American students in study programs abroad has shrunk by half since 1973,” he added.

What puzzles Mr. Starr is that even in view of these data, “spreading monolingualism has yet to catch on as a major issue in academia.” What is more, the excuses offered are mostly less than convincing. Some say, “If a student can’t read or write English very well, why lament his poor French?” Others are of the opinion that the urgency of wider foreign studies precipitated by the Sputnik flurry of the 1960’s has waned and that “the situation is not really so grave.” Some others point to the relaxation in admission requirements at all but ten per cent of the nation’s colleges and universities. On the graduate level, Starr complains that “barely half of those receiving the doctoral degree today must demonstrate even

a reading knowledge of a foreign language." All of this implies "that everything that an educated American needs to know is available in English."

It is not new, however, in American culture to have doubts over the benefit or value of acquaintance with a foreign language and culture. In school systems young men and women were brought up to believe that "fame and fortune lay through the scientific, commercial, and industrial training that Tocqueville saw as the essence of education in a democracy." To achieve these ends "foreign languages were at best a frill." Examples are cited to support these points of view: (i) If American corporations can do \$26 billion worth of trade with Japan annually, with few business men acquainted with the Japanese language, then in the vocational sense international education is of marginal significance; and (ii) if American ambassadorial representatives or appointees are able to manage their assignments without knowledge of the language of a particular foreign nation, why should students "be forced to conjugate irregular verbs in French or German?"

Over against these opinions, Stephen K. Bailey of the American Council on Education supports the argument that programs of international studies are essential for what he calls "global coping." One of our basic needs in the international scheme of things is "an understanding of how those other peoples think." The key to this advantage is language. And the situation is alarming when one considers that less than 200 American students on advanced levels are engaged in the exploration and mastery of the languages used by over a billion of the world's people.

What suggestions does Mr. Starr offer in view of what seems to be a serious state of things, academically and nationally? (i) International studies have to be moved from the periphery of the "core curriculum" closer to the center. (ii) School boards and educators must become more sensitive to the inter-relatedness of individual student and national needs. (iii) It must be demonstrated that only through exposure to a foreign language does a student really come to understand his own. (iv) Effort should be made to increase the supply of "internationally-oriented teachers." The National Institute of Education spends \$70 million annually on "improving pedagogy but has yet to invest in any aspect of international education."

The British Weekly: Resuscitated

The fortunes and circulation of religious journals and magazines have either waxed very slightly or waned more discouragingly than ever during the past decade. Increases in printing costs, employees' wage demands, and postal rates have all conspired to spell *finis* for scores of denominational newspapers and periodicals. Some magazines with more general religious and denominational appeal have survived, but frequently it has been at the price of technical attractiveness and editorial quality. Here and there some others have tried to rival their secular counterparts by aping their slick façade or professional format; yet in the long run this has proved to be a mistaken venture into a competitive field where substance and constituency could never be fairly matched.

Probably one of the best known religious newspapers, which has gone through a long series of changes of complexion and format and has rescued itself on more than one occasion from almost certain disaster, is *The British Weekly*. In the early part of this century in England it "sounded forth the voice of the nonconformist conscience." After World War II, under the editorship of Shaun Herron, it sharpened its critical edges, but later under Denis Duncan its rôle was changed to become more of "a conversation among Christians." Although this newspaper has maintained a consistently ecumenical posture, it has tried nevertheless to retain its identification with the Free Church tradition. After a recent period of financial stringency when the cessation of publication seemed certain, *The British Weekly* has undergone a measure of re-organization and appears now as a larger paper, with more Free Church news and with a determination to be "a paper theologically mature, well-informed about both the secular world and the Church, as controversial as it deems necessary, global in outlook but also very much concerned with the Church at home and the individuals who comprise it."

A recent issue of *The British Weekly* features a cover article by Brian Cooper on "Industry and the Church: Great Gap," in which he deplored the fact that "too often Christians in middle management think in an ecclesiastical way on Sunday and in an industrial way from Monday to Friday." Other articles and items of interest were: "Worship and Healing Initiative Launched"; "No Power to Save but Vital Still" (a discussion of the Ten Commandments); "Where Color Cancels Christ" (one of a 3-part series on conditions in South Africa, by Leslie Paul); two book reviews of volumes attesting to Christian courage: *Prussian Nights*, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and *Prayers from Prison*, by Dietrich Bonhoeffer; and a vigorous editorial calling upon the historic British churches to not only concern but action in behalf of the growing Black-led churches which have been brought into sharper focus with the inauguration of the Afro-West Indian United Council of Churches. The editor calls for "a common partnership" between the British Council of Churches and the new Black-led Churches because, he writes, "Racism in Britain is growing in a menacing fashion, its evil message of hate being spread by political pornography. Against such satanic forces, Christians of every color and cultural background must stand in solidarity for racial equality and justice in our society, and do so in the name and power of the Gospel." (Address: The British Weekly, c/o Christian Weekly Newspapers, 146 Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 4EH).

The Preacher's Object

A half century ago, William M. Macgregor, the scholarly preacher and teacher of preachers at Trinity College, Glasgow, emphasized the necessity of preaching always for a verdict. By this he meant that every sermon ought so to present the truth that our hearers are constrained to make up their minds about it. This idea was discussed in a recent issue of *Christianity Today* (Vol. XXII, No. 6, December 30, 1977) in an article entitled "Preaching for Results." The author, Roger C. Palms, is the editor of the Minneapolis based magazine, *Decision*.

Palms begins his article with the case of a minister who was greeting the con-

gregation at the church door and was startled by this question from a woman who asked: "Pastor, *why* did you preach that sermon?" The question was not intended to be captious, but, as Palms indicates, it was proof that this woman had been a careful listener. The problem was simply that "the reason for his sermon wasn't obvious." The sermon in all likelihood imparted a measure of substance or information but the preacher "hadn't thought through the 'why' of it."

This "why" which should trouble the preacher from the moment he chooses his theme or text onto the delivery of the final word of his message on Sunday morning, lies not in the sermon but, according to Palms, it "is in the mind of the preacher." This is why Dr. Fosdick felt that the object of his sermon ought to be of greater concern to him than the subject. In his classic essay on "What Is the Matter with Preaching?" he wrote about preachers who start their sermons at the wrong end:

"He is thinking first of his ideas, original or acquired, when he should think first of his people. He is organizing his sermon around the elucidation of his theme, whereas he should organize it around the endeavor to meet his people's need. He is starting with a subject whereas he should start with an object. His one business is with the real problems of these individual people in his congregation. Nothing that he says on any subject, however wise and important, matters much unless it makes at the beginning vital contact with the practical life and daily thinking of the audience."

Palms echoes a similar notion when he writes, "Does the person who stands before the congregation have a reason for what he is preaching? If he doesn't, he's going nowhere."

As a test or corrective, Palms suggests that each preacher "write down in one sentence the reason he/she is preaching next Sunday's sermon." "If you can't do it in one sentence, chances are you're going to be preaching in vague generalities and the listeners won't really understand where you're going or what you expect." Moreover, there is also a further danger—and more serious—that the message may be entirely misunderstood. As John A. Broadus put it, "We must strive to render it not merely possible that the people should understand us but impossible that they should misunderstand." The preacher who is conscious of why he is discussing a particular theme is unconsciously clarifying his message as he goes along and this process, Palms says, "keeps his preaching direct—concentrating more on his audience than on his delivery."

It is generally conceded that in the training of salesmen for effective action, the professional instructors "expect their trainees to know where they want to be at the end of a minute's conversation so that they will aim to be there and not talk

around their subject." Palms sees an identical need for the preacher to exercise the same technique and to have a similar ability. "Do you know," he asks, "what should be happening to the congregation by the end of the first minute of the sermon, or the tenth? Will you quickly waken a need? Will your hearers realize right away that 'this is for me?'" By the end of the first minute, will you and the congregation be moving forward together?"

To fulfill this need in preaching, Palms makes some suggestions:

(i) Every sermon ought to be "thoroughly planned" and if the preacher prays for the proper and useful execution of his assignment, God will give "direction to his or her message." "God honors prayed-for goals."

(ii) The preacher ought to expect the objective of the sermon to be realized immediately. "Those who expect too much too soon," says Palms, "quickly become frustrated." It is a matter of working patiently towards clearly defined ends. "The minister," he writes, "who wants results and preaches for realistic results will see those results, whether his message is meant to encourage, instruct, convince, challenge, or bring people to put their trust in Jesus Christ as personal Savior."

(iii) This clarification of one's goal in the sermon is important for the person who claims to be "a Bible preacher." How easy it is to present on Sunday morning merely "a running commentary" or a mishmash of proof texts. In this kind of thing the listener does not feel he is being addressed; indeed like an incompetent salesman, the "wants of the buyer" are overlooked and sales are lost. The preacher must ask himself: "What is this text saying that they need to hear? Why did you choose that particular passage and not another?"

Palms rounds out his excellent essay with the following summary of the instructions he advocates:

"When you can put together that single sentence about why you are preaching each message, type it at the top of your sermon notes or outline. Then all week long as you think about the message, and on Sunday when you preach it, keep checking that sentence; it will keep you on target. It will make you restate, clarify, and emphasize the theme. Your hearers will know where you are going because you will know where you are going. They will appreciate that and understand your point better. Otherwise you risk taking an exciting book and making it very dull, and preaching right past the people who are asking, 'Is there any word from the Lord for me?'"

—DONALD MACLEOD

The Story Behind the Making of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible

by BRUCE M. METZGER

THE last day of this month [30 September 1977] will mark the anniversary of the twenty-fifth year of the publication of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. In view of that circumstance it is not inappropriate for us this evening to give some attention to the story behind the making of the RSV Bible. The Revised Standard Version is, in fact, still in the making, for the RSV Bible Committee is an ongoing committee, and its annual meetings are devoted to taking into account the discovery and publication of still more ancient manuscripts as well as the refining of the English expressions chosen to render the original texts. At the moment the committee is also giving attention to the presence of masculine-oriented phraseology imposed on the Bible by earlier translators. The most exciting new development is the publication this past spring of the first truly ecumenical edition of the Bible in English, suited for use by all three principal branches of the Christian Church—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox.

Problems Confronting the Translator of the Bible

By way of introduction, let me draw

A member of the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary since 1940, the Reverend Bruce M. Metzger is George L. Collord Professor of New Testament Language and Literature. An alumnus of Lebanon Valley College (A.B.), Princeton Theological Seminary (M.Div.), and Princeton University (Ph.D.), Dr. Metzger occupies a position of first rank as a translator, textual critic, and bibliographer. The author or editor of twenty books, he is also chairman of the Revised Standard Version Bible Committee. His most recent volume is The Early Versions of the New Testament (Oxford, 1977). This address was given at the opening Convocation of the academic year 1977-78.

your attention to three or four problems that confront the translator of the Bible. Some kinds of problems are inherent within the material itself. What shall be done when the original manuscripts of a passage differ in the wording of that passage? Here the textual critic must decide which reading shall be adopted for translation in the text and which shall be placed in the margin.

A second problem emerges in the attempt to learn the meaning of Hebrew and Greek words that occur only once or twice in the Bible and nowhere else. Here comparative philology and light from the early versions offer a certain amount of assistance in ascertaining the meaning of such words.

Once the original text has been determined and after unusual words have been defined and construed, the translator then faces the problem at what literary level the rendering should be pitched. How far can a certain dignity of literary grace be conveyed in simple syntax and appropriate English vocabulary so that the rendering will be intelligible to all degrees of education and almost all degrees of intelligence?

Attempts to provide such an ideal version of the Bible have resulted in a wide range of translations, from the severely

literalistic New American Standard Version to various paraphrastic renderings of the Scriptures, of which Kenneth Taylor's *The Living Bible Paraphrased* is the most widely used. A paraphrase, it may be explained, tells what (in the mind of the paraphraser) the passage means, as compared with a literal translation, which tells what the passage says. In other words, a paraphrase combines elements of translation with elements of a commentary. Rather radical examples in paraphrasing are found in J. B. Phillips' *Letters to Young Churches*, in which, for example, he transforms the apostle's exhortation, "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Romans 16.16) into "Give one another a hearty handshake all round for my sake"!

Yet another kind of problem confronting the translator might be called a psychological problem. The natural conservatism of the reading public often makes it difficult for a new translation of the Scriptures to find general approval. Sixteen centuries ago Jerome hesitated to undertake a revision of the Old Latin versions lest he be regarded as a forger and a profane person for correcting what some people had come to regard as the true text of the Latin Bible. His apprehension that he would be castigated for tampering with Holy Writ was not unfounded, for his work of revision provoked both criticism and anger, sometimes with extraordinary vehemence. On his part, Jerome defended his work with forthright vigour, referring on occasion to his detractors as "two-legged asses" or "yelping dogs"

—persons who "think that ignorance is equivalent to holiness."

As regards English versions, it is perhaps something of a shock to learn that the King James Bible also met with criticism and had to win its way over the very popular Geneva version of 1560. At its publication in 1611 the learned Dr. Hugh Broughton, a Church of England Hebrew scholar, excoriated the new version, saying, "I had rather be rent in pieces with wild horses, than any such translation by my consent should be urged upon poor churches."¹ When the Pilgrims came to this continent in 1620 they brought with them copies of their beloved Geneva Bible, for they mistrusted the version of 1611 as being too modern. It is, therefore, probably par for the course that, when the RSV Bible was published, one preacher in the South burnt a copy with a blowtorch in the pulpit, remarking that the volume was like the devil because it was hard to burn. The ashes were then sent in a tin can to the Chairman of the RSV Bible Committee. In earlier centuries those who ventured to translate the Scriptures into the common vernacular were burned at the stake; in the twentieth century fortunately only the printed volume is burned!

Earlier Revisions of the King James Version

When King James I of England assembled about fifty scholars in the early seventeenth century, it was not to make an entirely new translation of the Bible, but to revise the English version of 1568 called the Bishops' Bible. Let it be

¹It ought also to be mentioned that Broughton had hoped to be appointed as a member of the team of translators, and there-

fore his antagonism to the new version was not unexpected.

said with all due emphasis, these learned men produced, from a purely literary point of view, a classic rendering of the Scriptures, and the 1611 Bible has deserved the acclaim that it eventually won for itself. Despite discoveries of more accurate manuscripts and inevitable modifications of the English language, no reader of the King James Version today is likely to be led astray either as to theology or ethics.

Despite the wide acceptance which the 1611 Bible eventually attained, in subsequent generations occasional proposals were voiced as to the desirability of introducing here and there various corrections and other alterations of phraseology. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries several dozen private ventures in Bible translating were undertaken in England and in America. Some of these were merely revisions of the King James version; others were more independent paraphrases. An example of the former type was John Wesley's revised edition of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, published in 1768 with some 12,000 alterations in all, but none of them, the reader is assured, for altering's sake. The same year saw the publication of a quite paraphrastic rendering in the stilted, verbose style of eighteenth-century English popular in the time of Samuel Johnson. Made by the bibliographer Edward Harwood, an ordained Presbyterian minister, its style can be seen from the grandiose manner in which Harwood renders Jesus' Parable of the Prodigal Son:

A Gentleman of a splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons. One day the younger approached his father, and begged him in the most

importunate and soothing terms to make a partition of his effects betwixt himself and his elder brother—The indulgent father, overcome by his blandishments, immediately divided all his fortunes betwixt them, etc. (Luke 15.11ff.)

Harwood's elaboration of the familiar text of John 3.16 is as follows:

For the supreme God was affected with such immense compassion and love for the human race, that he deputed his son from heaven to instruct them—in order that everyone who embraces and obeys his religion might not finally perish, but secure everlasting happiness.

In America Noah Webster, the lexicographer, prepared a revision of the King James version which was published at New Haven in 1833. A Congregational layman, who had been admitted to the bar, Webster's purpose was, as he says, to remove obsolete words and phrases, to remove grammatical infelicities, and to correct mistranslations. To this he added one thing more, which he considered of very grave importance. In his own words,

To these may be added many words and phrases very offensive to delicacy, and even to decency. In the opinion of all persons with whom I have conversed on the subject, such words and phrases ought not to be retained in the version. Language which cannot be uttered in company without a violation of decorum, or the rules of good breeding, exposes the Scriptures to the scoffs of unbelievers, impairs their authority, and multiplies or confirms the enemies of our holy religion

(Preface to Webster's Amended Edition of the Bible).

Another American production, similar to Harwood's British monstrosity, was *A New and Corrected Version of the New Testament*, prepared by Rodolphus Dickinson, an Episcopalian rector, and published at Boston in 1833. The preface to this volume is an astonishing exhibition of conceit. The author condemns the "quaint monotony and affected solemnity" of the King James version, with its "frequently rude and occasionally barbarous attire," and he declares his purpose to adorn the Scriptures with "a splendid and sweetly flowing diction" suited to the use of "accomplished and refined persons." Here are Mr. Dickinson's renderings of three well-known passages:

And it happened, that when Elizabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the embryo was joyfully agitated (Luke 1.41).

His master said to him, Well-done, good and provident servant! you was [*sic!*] faithful in a limited sphere, I will give you a more extensive superintendence; participate in the happiness of your master (Matthew 25.21).

Festus declared with a loud voice, Paul, you are insane! Multiplied research drives you to distraction (Acts 26.24).

One of the curiosities in the history of the English Bible is the translation of the Scriptures made by Julia E. Smith, a Women's Suffragist of the past century. Published in 1876 at Hartford at her own expense, this version is excessively wooden, using throughout the same English word for the same Hebrew or

Greek word. She thought that, as she says in the Preface, this would give "much clearer understanding of the text." The end result, however, of such a policy of mechanical translation was much nonsense and, in some passages, almost complete mistranslation. In historical narratives she rendered Hebrew verbs in the future tense, giving the reader the impression that everything in those narratives, including the acts of creation in Genesis, chapter 1, was yet to happen. The extent of the obscurity is suggested by Jer. 22.23, presented as a complete sentence and reading: "Thou dwelling in Lebanon, building a nest in the cedars, how being compassionated in pangs coming to thee the pain as of her bringing forth."

Miss Smith illustrates dramatically a fact that some persons do not appreciate, namely, that most words have more than one meaning, and in translation the more specific meaning of a word in a particular context has to be determined from that context. Perhaps her initial mistake was to seek no help or advice in her venture, as she naïvely discloses to the reader: "It may be thought by the public in general that I have great confidence in myself in not conferring with the learned in so great a work, but as there is but one book in the Hebrew tongue, and I have defined it word for word, I do not see how anybody can know more about it than I do!"

One other nineteenth-century edition of the English Bible may be mentioned, namely the one edited by James Nourse, a student at Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1827 Mr. Nourse, while a senior in the Seminary, prepared an edition of the King James version of the New Testament in which, as the

sub-title of the volume indicates, "the text of the common translation is arranged in paragraphs, such as the sense requires."

In his preface Mr. Nourse draws attention to the special typographical details of his edition:

Some of the paragraphs begin with a capital letter of larger size than common, to inform the reader that the connexion of such paragraphs with what precedes, is very slight. Others begin with a capital letter of the common size, to intimate that the connexion is somewhat closer. Smaller paragraphs than these—being indeed mere subdivisions of the larger—are preceded by a short space left vacant in the line. The punctuation seldom differs from the old, so as to alter the sense. Frequently, however, the insertion of a parenthesis, a dash, or marks of quotation, assists the reader greatly.

The edition was printed in Princeton by D. A. Borrenstein and published in New York by G. and C. Carvill. In 1834 Mr. Nourse issued an edition of the entire King James Bible arranged on similar lines. In this edition the New Testament quotations from the Old Testament are distinguished from the rest of the text either by being set with extra space between the letters or (much more frequently) by being set in smaller type and centered in the column of the text. Evidently Nourse's edition was found to be useful, for it was reprinted half a dozen times during the next twenty years.

The Revised Version in England and the Standard Version in America

As time went on, an ever greater need was felt for a thorough revision of the

1611 Bible to be made by a committee comprising representatives of diverse ecclesiastical affiliations. In 1870 both Houses of Convocation of the Anglican Church in England adopted a recommendation which led to the preparation of an "official" revision. A committee of British scholars and divines, numbering at various times twenty-four to twenty-eight, labored for ten and a half years to produce the Revised Version of the New Testament and fourteen years to produce the Old Testament. Soon after work on the revision had begun, an invitation was extended to American scholars to co-operate with the British in this work of common interest. Thereupon an American committee, comprising about thirty members (of which only about twenty members were active), was appointed from nine different denominations, with the eminent church historian Philip Schaff acting as chairman. Princeton Theological Seminary was represented on the committee by William Henry Green, Professor of Old Testament, who served as chairman of the Old Testament company, by Charles A. Aiken, Professor of Christian Ethics and Apologetics and later of Oriental and Old Testament Literature, and by Charles Hodge, Professor of Theology. The latter, who, when appointed, was in his seventy-third year, never attended the meetings, but corresponded with the committee.

The Revised Version of the Bible was published and copyrighted by the University Presses of Cambridge and Oxford, the New Testament appearing in 1881, the Old Testament in 1885, and the Apocrypha in 1895. Readings which the American Committee preferred but which the British Committee rejected were printed in an Appendix (for ex-

ample, the Americans preferred "Jehovah" to represent the Hebrew tetragrammaton instead of the traditional word "LORD," printed with a capital and with small capitals). The agreement was that after fourteen years the Americans would be allowed to publish an edition of the Revised Version that incorporated into the text itself the several preferences previously listed in the Appendix. Accordingly, in 1901 the American committee issued through Thomas Nelson and Sons the Standard American Edition of the Revised Version of the Bible (the Apocryphal books were not included). In order to protect the integrity of the version, which came to be called the American Standard Version, its text was copyrighted by the publisher.

The fate of the Revised Version in Great Britain was disappointing. Complaints about its English style began to be made as soon as it appeared. Charles Hadden Spurgeon, the great English preacher at the close of the nineteenth century, put it tersely when he remarked that the Revised New Testament was "strong in Greek, weak in English." The Revisers were often woodenly literal, inverting the natural order of words in English to represent the Greek order; and they carried the translation of the article, and of the tenses, beyond their legitimate limits. An example of rather tortuous order in English in the Revision is Luke 9.17, "And they did eat, and were all filled; and there was taken up that which remained over to them of broken pieces, twelve baskets."

Although these criticisms apply as well to the American Standard Version, in the United States the work of the Revisers was somewhat more

widely adopted than in Britain. But in both countries the Revision failed to supplant the King James version in popular favor. Furthermore, proponents of other versions in a more modern idiom deprecated the Revisers' continued use of archaic speech.

The need, then, for a generally acceptable revision continued, and was accentuated during the twentieth century by the discovery of new evidence for the text and its meaning. Many private translations appeared, representing various interests and emphases. Three widely used modern speech renderings were those of R. F. Weymouth, James Moffatt, and E. J. Goodspeed. More idiosyncratic were the "immersionist" Bible, which uses "immerse" in place of "baptize," and the Jehovah's Witnesses' *New World Translation*, which introduces the word "Jehovah" 237 times into the New Testament.

The Revised Standard Version

Steps to produce a suitable revision of the American Standard Version were undertaken in 1928 when the copyright of that version was acquired by the International Council of Religious Education. In the same year the American Standard Bible Committee was appointed, with an original membership of fifteen scholars, to have charge of the text of the American Standard Version, and to make further revision of the text should it be deemed necessary. The chairman of the committee was Luther A. Weigle, Dean of Yale Divinity School and Chairman of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. Princeton Theological Seminary was represented on the New Testament Section of the committee by William Park Armstrong, who was elected vice-

chairman of the committee. In 1937, owing to poor health, Professor Armstrong resigned from the committee.

For two years the committee wrestled with the question whether or not a revision should be undertaken; and if so, what should be its nature and extent. At one extreme stood James Hardy Ropes of Harvard, who held that the revisions of the King James version published in 1881 and 1901 ought not to have been made, and opposed any further revision.² At the other extreme was Edgar J. Goodspeed of Chicago, who advocated a new version in present-day colloquial English. Finally, after revisions of representative chapters of the Bible had been made and discussed, a majority of the committee decided that there should be a thorough revision of the American Standard Version of 1901, which would stay as close to the King James tradition as it could in the light of present knowledge of the Greek text and its meaning on the one hand, and present usage of English on the other.

In 1930 the nation and the churches were going through a serious economic depression, and it was not until 1936 that funds could be secured and the work of revision could begin in earnest. A contract was negotiated with Thomas Nelson and Sons, publishers of the American Standard Version, to finance the work of revision by advance royalties, in return for which Nelsons were granted the exclusive right to publish

the Revised Standard Version for a period of ten years. Thereafter it was to be open to other publishers under specific conditions.

With the financial undergirding thus provided, it was possible to schedule regular sessions of both the Old Testament and the New Testament Sections. Travel expenses and lodging and meals for the members were provided. No stipends or honoraria, however, have been given to RSV Committee members, who contribute their time and energies for the good of the cause.

After serious work had begun a hope was expressed that co-operation of British scholars might be obtained, thus making the version an international translation. The war years of 1939-1945, however, made such collaboration impossible. In the summer of 1946, after the war was over, an effort was made to secure at least a token of international collaboration in the work on the Old Testament, the RSV New Testament having been published in February, 1946. Such partial collaboration was not to be forthcoming, for in that same year delegates of several Protestant Churches in Britain decided that they should begin work on a wholly new translation,³ one which made no attempt to stand within the tradition of the 1611 Bible. The outcome of this effort was the New English Bible published in 1970.

Meanwhile, work continued on the RSV Old Testament. After 81 separate meetings, totalling 450 days of work,

land. Subsequently a Joint Committee of translators was appointed by the several Churches of Great Britain, and Dr. Hendry was invited to serve as secretary to the committee, a post he held until he became a member of the Faculty of Princeton Seminary in 1949.

² Professor Ropes resigned from the committee in 1932.

³ The suggestion that such a translation should be made was first proposed by the Reverend George S. Hendry (at that time minister at Bridge of Allen) to the Presbytery of Stirling and Dunblane of the Church of Scot-

the complete Bible was published September 30, 1952, the festival day, appropriately enough, of St. Jerome. The new version was launched with an unprecedented publicity campaign. On the evening of the day of publication, in the United States, in Canada, and in many other places, 3418 community observances were held with over one and a half million persons attending.

The fanfare, however, did not protect the version from adverse criticism. Pamphlets appeared bearing such titles as *The Bible of Antichrist*, *The New Blasphemous Bible*, and *Whose Unclean Fingers Have Been Tampering with the Holy Bible, God's Pure, Infallible, Verbally Inspired Word?* The last named pamphlet opens with the sentence: "Every informed and intelligent person knows that our government is crawling with communists, or those who sanction and encourage communism"—which indicates the line along which the version was attacked. In fact, those who were looking for an opportunity to calumniate the National Council of Churches, under whose auspices the RSV had been produced, managed to influence Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigative committee to bring insidious and absurd charges against several members of the RSV Committee, to the effect that they were either communists or were hospitable to communist ideas—allegations that were eventually printed, of all places, in the United States Air Force Training Manual! As the result of a thorough investigation conducted by non-partisan authorities, this entirely unsupported charge was rebutted on the floor of the House of Representatives in Washington.⁴

Despite these and other criticisms during succeeding years, the RSV made its way in the United States and in other countries where the English language is used. It is a testimony to its qualities that in Great Britain, where it has not enjoyed the intensive "promotion" which it was given in North America, it has made steady headway on the ground of its intrinsic merit.

The Revised Standard Version, Catholic Edition

An entirely new and unexpected development came in the autumn of 1953 when the Chairman of the Standard Bible Committee received a letter from the Catholic Biblical Association of Great Britain, asking whether there would be any disposition to confer with them about certain emendations in the RSV which they had in mind, with an eye to the possibility of issuing an adaptation for Roman Catholic readers. After consultation with members of the RSV Committee, Dean Weigle and Dr. Gerald E. Knoff, who was then the General Secretary of the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches, began conversations with representatives of the Catholic Biblical Association. By 1956 most of the desired New Testament changes were reviewed, a draft of a Foreword was discussed, and the exact wording on the title page was approved. All seemed to be going well—but the uncertainties of human life interposed a delay. Cardinal Griffin of London, who had written a Foreword for the RSV New Testament, Catholic Edition, died suddenly.

The promoters of the edition in England were faced with a quandary. Did the Cardinal's authorization for the

⁴ See the *Congressional Record*, vol. 106—part 6, for April 19, 1960, pp. 8247-8284.

edition still hold? And if technically legal, was it wise and prudent to proceed? As it turned out, Cardinal Griffin's successor, Archbishop William Godfrey, declared in 1958 that he could not sanction the venture, that it would cause a scandal to the faithful to receive a translation of the New Testament that had been made originally by a committee of Protestant scholars.

In the course of time, however, in view of the new climate that began to pervade the Roman Catholic Church after Vatican Council II, negotiations were resumed, and, finally, in the spring of 1965 the Catholic Edition of the RSV New Testament was published by the two branches of Thomas Nelson and Sons, in Edinburgh and in New York. An appendix in the volume lists the 93 verses involving 67 slight changes in the wording required by the Catholic Biblical scholars. (The list includes also the original RSV wording.)

The next stage began when consideration was given to a Catholic Edition of the RSV Old Testament. As is generally known, the Old Testament in Catholic Bibles includes more than the thirty-nine books of the Hebrew Scriptures. These additional books and parts of books, accepted as Deuterocanonical by Catholics, are regarded by Protestants (with several other books) as Apocryphal. The Apocrypha, originally included in the King James Bible of 1611, were translated by a panel of the RSV Committee (working from 1953 to 1956)⁵ and published by Nelsons in 1957.

Surprisingly enough, the scholars of

the Catholic Biblical Association decided to ask for no changes whatever in the RSV Old Testament (including even the controversial rendering of Isaiah 7.14, "Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son . . .") or in the RSV Deuterocanonical books, which were placed throughout the Old Testament in accord with their position in the Latin Vulgate Bible. In 1966 the RSV Catholic Edition of the entire Bible was published, with a brief Foreword by Cardinal Heenan in the British edition and one by Cardinal Cushing in the American printing. Catholic notes, as at that time required, were included, but Protestant nomenclature in the titles of the Biblical books was adopted.

The Catholic Edition of the RSV was just that—a special edition of the RSV text adapted for Roman Catholic readers. The notes as well as the expanded form of the Old Testament made it unsuited as a common or ecumenical Bible. The steps which led to making such an edition, however, were taken during the following decade.

The First Truly Ecumenical Bible

The first step in production of a truly ecumenical Bible was taken in 1966 when Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, gave his imprimatur to the *Oxford Annotated Bible, with the Apocrypha*. This edition, prepared by Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, contained the original RSV text, not the text as modified for the Catholic Edition. The books of the Apocrypha were segregated and stood after the New Testament.

⁵ Soon after the publication of the RSV Bible in 1952 the Protestant Episcopal Church requested the Committee to translate also the books of the Apocrypha. It was at this

juncture that the present writer was invited to join the RSV Committee; he served as one of the panel of translators of the Apocrypha, and as secretary of the panel.

The next step was taken in 1971 when the second edition of the RSV New Testament was issued. This incorporated a number of changes that reflect the Greek text as adopted for the third edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*,⁶ which serves throughout the world as a standard text for translations and revisions made by Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. Among such changes was the transfer of the ending of the Gospel of Mark and of the *pericope de adultera* (John 7:53-8:12) from the RSV footnotes into the text, though the passages continue to be separated from the context by a blank space to show that they were not part of the original text.

Soon afterward a significant step was taken by scholars of the Catholic Biblical Association of Great Britain. Under the leadership of Dom Bernard Orchard, O.S.B., and Dr. Reginald C. Fuller, a plan was evolved to divide the books of the Apocrypha into two sections, those which the Catholic Church regards as Deuterocanonical and those which are not so regarded. In an edition issued by Collins Press in 1973 these two sections were bound separately between the Old and New Testaments. The volume, therefore, had four sections: the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament; the twelve Deuterocanonical books; the First and Second Books of Esdras and the Prayer of Manasseh (three books which are part of the traditional Apocrypha but are not included among the Deuterocanonical books); and the twenty-seven books of the New Testament. No Catholic notes were in-

cluded, since this Bible was to be "common," for use by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike.

It should be noted that in such an arrangement Catholics made a significant departure from the accepted practice through the long history of their church. The separation of the Deuterocanonical books from their places throughout the Old Testament is essentially an accommodation to the Protestant arrangement of the books of the Bible.

In May of 1973 a specially bound copy of the Collins RSV "Common" Bible was presented to Pope Paul. In a private audience granted to a small group, comprising the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Athenagoras of London, Lady Priscilla and Sir William Collins, Herbert G. May, and the present writer, Pope Paul accepted the copy as a significant step in furthering ecumenical relations among the churches.

Worthy as the "Common" Bible is, however, it fails to live up to its name, for it lacks the full canon of books recognized as authoritative by Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Greek, the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Bulgarian, the Serbian, the Armenian, and other Eastern Churches accept not only the traditional Deuterocanonical books received by the Roman Catholic Church, but also the Third Book of the Maccabees. Furthermore, in Greek Bibles Psalm 151 stands at the close of the Psalter, and the Fourth Book of the Maccabees is printed as an Appendix to the Old Testament. Inasmuch as these texts were lacking in the "Common"

⁶ The third edition, prepared in 1969 by K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, S.J., B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren was finally published in 1975, but its distinctive readings

were known in 1971 through the publication of B. M. Metzger's *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London, 1971).

Bible presented to Pope Paul, on that occasion Archbishop Athenagoras expressed to the present writer the hope that steps might be taken to produce a truly ecumenical edition of the Holy Scriptures.

Actually in 1972 a sub-committee of the RSV Bible Committee had already been commissioned to prepare a translation of 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psalm 151. The members of the sub-committee were Demetrios J. Constantelos, Sherman E. Johnson, Robert A. Kraft, Allen Wikgren, and the writer. In 1975 the completed translation of the three additional texts was made available to the five publishers licensed to issue the RSV Bible. Oxford University Press took steps immediately to produce an expanded form of *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, with the Apocrypha*, the edition of the RSV which had earlier received the imprimatur of Cardinal Cushing.

This expanded edition⁷ was published by the Oxford University Press on May 19, 1977. A special pre-publication copy was presented by the present writer to His All Holiness Demetrios I, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and titular head of the several Orthodox Churches. In accepting the gift, the Ecumenical Patriarch expressed satisfaction at the availability of an edition of the sacred Scriptures which English readers in all branches of the Christian Church can use.

Thus, the story of the making of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible with the expanded Apocrypha is an account of the slow but steady triumph of ecumenical concern over more limited

sectarian interests. Now, a quarter of a century after the completion of the RSV Old and New Testaments (and for the first time since the Reformation) one edition of the Bible has the blessing of leaders of the Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox Churches alike.

The Next Stages

As was mentioned earlier, the RSV Bible Committee is an on-going committee that meets annually. Like Luther, who in repeated revisions continually sought to refine and polish his German translation of the Scriptures, the RSV Committee has not hesitated "to bring back to the anvil that which they had already hammered"—to quote an expression used in the Preface of the King James Bible.

By the mid-1980s it is expected that the second edition of the RSV Old Testament will be finished. Among significant changes will be the dropping of the archaic second person singular pronouns from the Psalms and other prayers in the Bible. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was customary to use "thou," and "thee," and "thine" in ordinary speech. Twenty-five years ago the RSV Committee abandoned this usage except for the Psalms and other prayers in the Bible. Today the archaic pronouns are being used less and less in contemporary liturgy and public prayers, and the Committee has decided that future editions of the RSV will employ the same forms in addressing the Deity as are used for individuals. Such a step will, in fact, reproduce more accurately the usage of the He-

⁷ Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, editors, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible, with the Apocrypha*, Expanded Edition, Re-

vised Standard Version (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), xxviii + 1564 + xxiv + 340 pp., 14 maps, \$15.95.

brew and Greek texts themselves, which make no linguistic differentiation between address to God and to a person.

In another area of English usage the RSV Committee has become sensitive to what is termed masculine-oriented language. An increasing number of persons are becoming dissatisfied with the generic use of the English word "man" or "men," which traditionally has referred to both men and women. In some cases earlier translators of the Bible inserted the word "man" in passages where it is lacking in the original texts. Obviously in such cases it should be removed. An example in point is an improvement that has already been introduced into the second edition of the RSV New Testament (1971). In the King James Bible Luke 17:34 is rendered, "I tell you, in that night there shall be two *men* in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left." For obvious reasons, the committee has omitted the word "men," thus returning more closely to the Greek and, incidentally, to all English translations of this verse in pre-1611 Bibles.

On the other hand, masculine-oriented phraseology that is embedded historically in the customs and mores of a patriarchal society cannot be removed.

For example, passages that refer to the ancient Israelitish practice of conveying inheritance only to male children cannot be altered any more than Hitler's speeches can be purged of their anti-Semitic slurs and still remain historically accurate.

Throughout all this painstaking work of translation and revision, the aim of the committee today remains the same as that which was expressed twenty-five years ago. In 1952 the Preface to the RSV Bible concluded with the following sentences:

The Bible carries its full message, not to those who regard it simply as a heritage of the past or who praise its literary style, but to those who read it that they may discern and understand God's Word to his people. That Word must not be disguised in phrases that are no longer clear, or hidden under words that have changed or lost their meaning. It must stand forth in language that is direct and plain and meaningful to people today. It is our hope and our earnest prayer that this Revised Standard Version of the Bible may be used by God to speak to people in these momentous times, and to help them to understand and believe and obey his Word.

The Seminary in a Metropolitan Society

by GIBSON WINTER

*A native of New England and an ordained priest of the Episcopal Church, the Reverend Gibson Winter is Maxwell M. Upson Professor of Christianity and Society at Princeton. An alumnus of Harvard (A.B.), Cambridge Episcopal Theological School (B.D.), and Harvard University's School of Social Relations (Ph.D.), Dr. Winter has taught on the Federated Theological Faculty, University of Chicago, and the University of Chicago Divinity School. He is the author of five books, including the well-known *The Suburban Captivity of the Churches* (Doubleday, 1961).*

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IN preparing this lecture, I decided to take up the practical rather than theoretical issues of my theme "An Unfinished Species," and specifically the task of the Seminary in the future of our common life. I shall not be saying much that is new but only trying to articulate some of the concerns of students, faculty and administration as we wrestle with our future as a Christian people. We may not agree on these matters, even within the faculty or within the student body, but most of us realize that ours is an anguished and threatening period. Without more ado, then, I turn to our context and its significance for our task.

The Metropolitan Society

It is a commonplace that our epoch is increasingly dominated by scientific, technological and economic interests. Critics and citizens differ on the beneficent and destructive potential of this brew, but few would question its directive role in shaping our lives. Whether or not technique, the human capacity to make and reshape the world, held priority from the outset in this development of modernity, it now holds an unchallenged hegemony. Experimentation

with Recombinant DNA in which genes are spliced and new life forms generated, proliferation of plants producing nuclear fuel with the dangerous plutonium at the end of the fuel cycle, development of microwave radiation on a global scale, these are only dramatic instances of a constant process of innovation that is bombarding the environment and its life-sustaining structures in an era of technology-based science and industry.

Three aspects of this core phenomenon of the metropolitan society furnish insights into the shape of our world. The ascendancy of technique has gradually placed knowledge-elites in a dominating position. However, the engine or driving force in generating and controlling innovation is the corporate structure of wealth and economic power. The play of powers in the metropolitan society takes place in the intersection of these technical elites and managerial structures. The third aspect is nevertheless, the more crucial for understanding the problems of our society. This is the paradoxical condition that our age of increasing power and mastery is also one of a spreading sense of powerlessness and dependency. If we

think of metropolitan society as a network of interdependent structures extending over the globe and centering in particular nuclei of power and control, then the vertical structure of this society can be viewed as domination by concentrated centers and spreading dependency of the masses.

One form of domination has been identified by John MacKnight under the rubric, "The Serviced Society." By this he means the control of the structures of care—education, health, social service, legal aid, housing, day care, to name a few—by technical elites or service elites whose activities are funded and organized in large bureaucratic structures. Service, care or love becomes big business. Technologized medicine is a dramatic instance. Eighty to ninety billion dollars is expended on health care. Some of this is helpful to public health, especially applications of serums and drugs. Yet the technologizing of medical care has meant greater and greater investments in highly specialized medicine, while there is attrition of medical care from many rural regions and ghettoized areas of our cities. Without in any way impugning either the motives or skills of those working in the field, medical care tends to be a highly specialized treatment of privileged sectors of the population, for the most part missing the real problems of public and community health. With a national health care plan, we are only reinforcing this technological domination and gradually communicating to the citizenry the notion that health is something either a doctor or the government provides, completely obscuring the reality that nature gives us our health and techniques may be useful occasionally to restore its natural balances.

Education is in some ways an even more dramatic instance of the institutionalization of the serviced society. To talk about this on these grounds is to come a bit close to home, but most of our education from nursery school to graduate studies is a socialization process of learned dependency. Instead of building on the curiosity and desire to learn of the human species, those powers which gave it such adaptive capacity over hundreds of thousands of years, we have gradually evolved a system by which citizens are made to feel that they cannot learn without a class, do not know anything unless some teacher or school has accredited them, cannot do anything unless some institution gives its certification. As Ivan Illich put it so well, this is a consumer view of education in which the human being is treated as a container to be filled, stamped and sealed. We know the net effect is to terminate serious reading, learning and thought for the citizenry for the rest of their lives, and this applies unfortunately to many professional people including the clergy.

We could extend this consideration of the serviced society to all major structures of the metropolitan society, but the crucial issue is the domination of technique and technical elites with a corresponding learned dependency for the mass of the citizenry. As John MacKnight has observed, the strange, ideological aspect of this domination is that it is done through structures of care. Care is the expression of love in society, as he observes, so the massive business of care leaves politicians and citizens no choice but to say extend the services, though let's have more medical services and less housing.

The technical domination of work

has long been discussed, but we seem to be experiencing a deeper kind of alienation in work than anything that was discussed in the classical texts. The alienation of work and labor was taken to mean the estrangement of the laborer from the fruits of labor, the surplus value which the industrial system extracted. This certainly continues in our capitalistic system. Moreover work is exercised under a hierarchical domination which alienates labor from any serious participation in the decisions that affect the work. Consequently, most work ends up being an alienated and estranged experience of loss of self-esteem; this is especially true in a society like ours which for centuries has put such store upon being independent and even autonomous. However, another aspect of the alienation of labor is extending through the working and middle classes of our society—the reduction of work to a means to becoming a *dependent consumer* of goods and services in the society. Of course, the advertising business and the market ideology attempt to convince the dependent consumers that they are exercising sovereign choices in the market, but most citizens realize that they are dependent upon corporate structures to determine what they should need and want.

This transformation of the producer into the dependent consumer of goods and services has produced a metropolitan society composed of three major strata: a controlling sector of corporate elites of which we need to say more later; a dependent, rewarded sector of serviced consumers; and a growing sector of dependent, marginalized victims of this technical and corporate domination who live out their lives in

ghettos, impoverished rural areas and attics of the gray areas of our deteriorating cities. This is a phenomenon which deserves much more attention than it has yet received, but suffice it to say here that the massive stratum of dependent, rewarded consumers feel more and more dominated and powerless, more and more isolated from any sense of belonging even to their nation, more and more hungry for some personal or private meaning to fill up the emptiness of their lives. In the serviced society there is, of course, a proliferation of private avenues of compensatory activity in TV serials and shows, dietary fads, psychic health activities, organic gardening and sexual experimentation. Needless to say, the religious life of the churches has increasingly been assimilated to this private realm of compensatory activity. This is not the whole story, but it is an important phenomenon in the serviced society.

Reference has already been made to the dominating role of corporate structures in the organization of metropolitan society. This is the engine driving technical innovation and scientific research. This is not to deny the intrinsic worth of scientific method and its accomplishments, but it is important to recognize that even areas of research are shaped by the sources of funding and the cultural interests that dominate society in any epoch.

The metropolitan society is dominated for the most part, as we noted, by highly *centralized, corporate structures* which extend their networks over the globe. The service bureaucracies are now entering this controlling network, since medical, educational and welfare interests are thoroughly politicized. Yet the major structures of corporate power

continue to be industrial, banking, military and governmental. These now constitute a matrix, not in the sense of a conspiracy, though this is not to be ignored as we saw in Watergate, the Lockheed scandal and Korean connections. This matrix is an interlocking and interdependent structure of interests through which resources are controlled, if necessary by sharing in the overthrow of a democracy like Chile, markets are opened and sustained, cheap labor is made accessible on a world-wide basis, and Third World economies are exploited to increase the profits of the Western economies.

If we look at the domestic consequences of this corporate domination, we can acknowledge that this productive process has had some merit, but we can also recognize that its costs have been enormous to the environment and the citizenry. These costs to the environment have been much discussed in the last decade, but they are still treated as externalities by corporate industry and thus fall to the expense of the citizenry. If the air is polluted, let the citizens pay for the remedy. Corporate domination has produced the goods, at least this is its claim to fame; the fact is that it has led us into the most inefficient uses of energy we can imagine—an accomplishment which would probably not have been possible had it been deliberate. And we need only look at the heart of our urban areas to realize the rape of historic cities, deterioration of housing and manufacturing facilities, deprivation in human life and communal fabric which have eventuated from this beneficent hierarchy of corporate interests. I hope it is clear that I am not speaking at any point about "good guys" and "bad guys." That is a

typical American misconception of the systemic and structured character of societal processes. An honest landlord under the present system of taxes and competitive market in housing and property is usually wise and moral to let the building deteriorate, extract the maximum profit and abandon it to the city when he has milked it dry. Moreover, real estate and banking interests are only playing by the rules of the profit game when they redline areas in which such deterioration is inevitable and then press for redevelopment by which the areas can be devastated and much more profit drawn from the transactions. Good guys in such circumstances become destroyers of precious, historic heritage and usable housing stock. Bad guys become those who make liberal gestures without confronting the systemic character of this cancerous process in the heart of the metropolitan society.

If we cast this picture of hierarchical domination in the metropolitan society on the larger global screen, we see a similar process of deterioration and exploitation. One of the striking phenomena on the global level is the fact that the harder people work in the Third World the more they fall behind in the lauded *development* we are furthering. Arturo Gaete sums up these figures in the relation of Brazil and the United States between 1947-1960 thus: an inflow into Brazil of new investment and loans of \$1,814 million and an outflow of \$3,481 million. More recent figures indicate little change in the general ratio of about three or four to one. This is a complicated picture, but it involves mass marketing of luxury consumer items in Third World areas where people are hungry, development

of technologies and employment processes through which mass unemployment and underemployment are created. In brief, the metropolitan society creates its proletariat on a global scale, marginalizes and victimizes countless millions of people in order to maintain its productivity and markets, generating *dependent underdevelopment and dependent under- as well as unemployment* on a worldwide basis. Moreover, both on a domestic and global scale this corporate hierarchy maintains stability in its economic system by outlays of about 10% of Gross National Product on armaments. This is not to say that there are no cold war realities to be faced, but only to recognize that armaments and militarism constitute one of our major industries—accounting for 70% of our shipbuilding and 50% of our electronics work, hiring 53% of our technical researchers and 32% of all engineers and scientists.

To sum up this picture of the organized complexity of metropolitan society, the ascendancy of technique over knowledge and experience is creating a servicing elite in a society of dependent, serviced, powerless and voiceless citizens. Moreover, the domination of those technical processes by corporate structures of education, industry, banking, government and military generates a domestic underclass of dependent and rewarded functionaries and a global proletariat of dependent and underemployed peoples. But to bring this discussion somewhat closer to home, we shall examine the way in which elites are cultivated in the metropolitan society and the means by which they are given a consciousness suited to their task of victimizing humanity. We are in a particularly good position to reflect

on this phenomenon since we reside in one of the major complexes for cultivation of elites.

The socialization of elites begins very early in our metropolitan society. It is dramatically exemplified in Hyde Park, Chicago, where the University of Chicago maintains academic preparation from nursery school through secondary school to the highest levels of graduate and professional studies. In the baby boom of the fifties and sixties, the real competition in the area was for places in the nursery school, since access to that level usually meant a guaranteed ticket to the top of the ladder. This dramatizes what Illich said about the American educational system, that it was designed to make an advantage look like an achievement. However, here in Princeton we see the fuller reaches of this zoned complex for cultivation of elites; here a residential region is being developed for clean and acceptable, tax paying industries, carefully zoned and restricted housing areas, and a research university and institutes dedicated to the development of managers and scientists for the corporate structures. This is not to denigrate the many fine teachers and students who work in this area but only to recognize what Watergate already drove home, not to speak of the Viet Nam war, that the "best and brightest" are for the most part coopted utterly to the system of domination. I am only arguing that this complex for cultivation of elites is no accident but precisely the result of the residential zoning, privileged character of life and isolation of intellectual activity from the realities of the society and adjoining urban areas. David Harvey in his study, *Social Justice in the City*, drew attention to the fact that some twenty com-

munities in the Princeton area were zoned for 102 million jobs but residentially zoned for 144,000 workers, ensuring that most workers would be kept at a safe distance from the center for the cultivation of elites. Again, it is important to recognize that this is a systemic process rather than a conspiracy, though political interventions are part and parcel of this control of residential areas. A similar picture could be drawn for Hyde Park, Chicago, under the aegis of the University, and so for areas of Boston, Houston, and countless other centers for the cultivation of elites.

My main concern in drawing attention to the systematic socialization of elites is to make us aware of the segregation of elites from the victims of the metropolitan society. This process begins with the insulated education of most elites in suburbia and extends all the way through their training. In this way the ghettoization of the cities remains invisible, the victims of these processes can be blamed for their condition—are they not taking drugs, thrown into prison, appearing only on the streets as idlers or derelicts as we glance down from the thruway, having too many children and suffering deteriorated family life which can best be treated with “benign neglect.” Those who have been advantaged and will be needed to conduct the business of metropolitan society have to be convinced that they were selected purely on merit, achieved the heights through their own initiatives and richly deserve the rewards that are in store for them. Any light creeping through the crevices of this isolation could lead to misgivings and even self-doubts, could lead to critical attitudes and even disaffection.

Even as our creative powers of tech-

nique and science are uprooted from participation in the deeper processes of natural life and human communities, so our institutions which prepare elites are uprooted from participation in the common life of our society. And these uprooted elites will circulate through various corporate structures, touching down here and there for a few years, never really dwelling in the midst of the anguish and suffering that the system is generating, moving from one Hilton establishment to another, never leaving the cocoon in which they were sheltered from those first days in the nursery school. Just prior to the Chilean coup against Allende, a friend of mine was in Santiago visiting and working. He stayed one night in a luxury hotel and was told that there was no food of quality because of Allende, and on and on. He moved the next day to a simple hotel down the street and found all the food and services he could have desired. Other Americans came back and said how terrible conditions were as a result of Allende's regime. They remained sheltered from the realities of Chile.

Toward a Participatory Society

The inner contradiction in the development of metropolitan society is becoming more and more evident. If this were not the case, we would still be caught up in the illusion of progress and convinced that the affluence of the advantaged would gradually trickle down to the disadvantaged. There is now a growing sense of powerlessness among middle class people as well as in the working classes and marginalized victims of metropolitan domination. These people have yet to become really disillusioned with the productive society. There is a serious job of conscious-

ness-raising to be done, especially so that we can begin to experience and name the realities of human degradation and environmental destruction which surround us. In time this will mean the emergence of a different system of values and a new style of life, but that will depend upon a deepening awareness of the human condition. Such a consciousness requires experiential participation in these realities and deliberate efforts to name them.

Those who have worked with me during this past year must tire of my references to *participation* as a key term in this task of demythologizing the metropolitan society and opening horizons of renewal of natural and human life. If we think about the relation of technique and science in experiments such as Recombinant DNA, we get a clue to the significance of participation. The interrelation of technique and knowing in such experiments conceals the foundational participation in which scientific work is rooted. The place of imaginative insight that participates in the fundamental infra-structure of natural processes falls into forgetfulness; then, technique and intervention are uprooted, creativity become sheer innovation and novelty, the reciprocity between the human species and natural processes is suppressed for the sake of further manipulation and control. The scientific and technical work of the modern age, once uprooted, becomes prey to the manipulative interests of the corporate structures of metropolitan society. The "integrity of science" is jeopardized as the American Association for the Advancement of Science pointed out many years ago.

What is true of science and the great research universities is even more true

of our councils of economic advisors, our banking and industrial institutions, our planning and governmental agencies. Uprooted from the realities which we have just reviewed, they are caught up in an endless cycle of innovation, production, marketing, consumption—a mechanical "repetition of the same" which passes for creativity. After centuries of movement toward human self-consciousness, creativity, democratic processes and public responsibility, we find ourselves robbed of personal and public powers to shape our lives and bring human decency and authentic care back into the structures of the human community. Uprooted science, technique, industry and politics become idolatrous, for they no longer recognize their ideological interests and the authentic source of their powers. The turn to participation is thus more than a gesture of reorientation. It is a fundamental attack upon idolatry, a return to roots, a recovery of human power to share a creative process in which the human species is not the author but the collaborator. This is a move from monologue, which is imposed by alien powers, to dialogue with natural, human, cultural and divine powers, a dialogue in which the very meaning of power is transmuted from domination to release and disclosure of truth.

Talking about participation in such generalities communicates very little, because participation is a transforming praxis as well as thinking. And those who take praxis seriously, where doing and understanding are interwoven as well as founded; start where they are. We are here, in this Seminary, in this center of cultivation of elites, in this metropolitan society. Some dream of these institutions passing away. Per-

haps I am too old to think in such terms, especially after struggling with them for so many years. They are powerful and enduring, they are clever and almost indestructible, their endowments will carry them for centuries with proper management. If we are going to consider participation in the context of our own praxis, we shall do best to look hard and long at who we are, at where we may find direction toward a new society, a direction which is answerable to the author and finisher of our faith. I hope it is clear that I am not talking about programs or panaceas but only about a conversion from complicity in the metropolitan society to a praxis of dialogue and participation.

If we think back upon our consideration of the way in which elites are insulated and cultivated in the metropolitan society, it becomes quite evident that we have serious problems with the ecology of this Seminary. If we are to think of a *participatory ecology*, one that opens up a network of communication across the boundaries of color and social class, affluence and deprivation, advantaged and marginalized, then we need to establish an axis between Princeton and Trenton as well as a network with areas like Newark and Camden. This may take decades to work through, but it took almost two centuries to create our present, isolated turf. Whatever Princeton College and this Seminary represented ecologically and spiritually in the early nineteenth century, they do not represent that in the metropolitan society. This is not a new thought to many of the faculty, students and administrators of the Seminary. Many are already working in and through these areas. This is only to say that the strategies of field placement,

development of teaching seminars, gradual redistribution of facilities and cultivation of bonds with ministering churches and agencies should be developed as a network of participatory communication. To be *in* an area is not necessarily to be *of* it. The University of Chicago, as I noted, is in but not of the Southside ghetto in Chicago. Communication with the University of Chicago is one way, a monologue in which the University sets the terms of participation. This is not what I mean by a participatory ecology. I mean a dialogical ecology of involvement in the suffering, victimage, and struggle for humanity of marginalized as well as rewarded sectors of metropolitan society.

There are those who say all citizens of metropolitan society are marginalized and alienated. I have drawn just such a picture of the powerlessness of the citizenry in our society. Hence, we need a touchstone to help us in identifying oppression in its full scale in order to recognize what a participatory ecology would mean. I take the *touchstone of color* to be crucial in this matter. The color line became the fundamental contradiction of the American hope for a good society under God at the very outset. It continues to this day, in different form to be sure but none the less oppressive, to be the decisive contradiction of our American reality. Initially color pertained to the American Indian and the enslaved African peoples—the one indigenous, the other imported to enrich the settler peoples. Gradually color extended to the Mexicans and later to Asiatics. Color even played a significant part in the brutality of our invasion of Viet Nam in my opinion. At every point where we penetrate that wall of separation which we

call color, in the ecology of our living and learning, opening communication and sharing a struggle for liberation, we shall have some clue to a participatory ecology. Nothing less, in my opinion, can constitute a dialogical process of new creation. I do not know what this means programmatically—very likely teaching contexts at various points in the turf so that Black people and others of color can learn and teach us on their own turf when we have proved our good faith and are welcome there. It is remarkable to me that we have developed sophisticated technologies of communication and transportation, yet we seem passively trapped in an ecology that contradicts our mission in the metropolitan society. One wonders if we just fear that invisible world of victimage. If so we need the courage and creativity to take over our ecology.

We are an educational institution. This is the center of our being within the metropolitan society. We are also caught up in the dominant mode of rationality that governs our research universities and our modern world. We may not be at the full extreme of technical rationality and consumer education in which students are filled like containers and certified like products on an assembly-line. But we are not far from that in much that we are doing, whether we intend it to be so or not. The characteristics of education in metropolitan society are quantitative inputs and outputs in which busyness replaces thought. Anyone who has worked in a major research university knows that much which passes for scholarship and research is sheer busyness without creativity, without imagination or serious contribution to the humanizing of our world. Students are assured that they

are learning because they are kept busy. Faculty have little time for thought, much less dialogue with one another and with students. If this picture seems a bit extreme, forgive me for my impatience with what we are doing to our creative and interpersonal powers. I lectured a few years ago with several others at a midwestern university in a Seminar Conference. Students kept entering and leaving the lectures and discussions. Finally I asked one of the resident faculty what was happening. He said the class schedule and curriculum had been designed at the University so that students did not have time to think or discuss, they were kept busy going from subject to subject, room to room. This new peripatetics has nothing to do with learning. In all of these matters, we are too much conformed to the metropolitan society and will have to liberate our pedagogy if we are to become a counter-movement for liberation.

All of us have many ideas on these questions, both faculty and students, certainly administrators who watch anxiously and hope for creativity. I offer no special wisdom beyond years of agonizing over these questions. I would point us toward a *participatory pedagogy*, which refers to the dialogical character of thought in the context of praxis as well as the dialogical character of the learning process for faculty and students. This means breaking with the fragmentation of learning, with the specialization that arises in the analytic modes of technical rationality. It means founding our thinking in appreciative understanding and creative insight that arise in experience and struggle. In this context, the tradition of objectifying rationality has great importance in unfolding the inner horizons of meaning

which we associate with conceptual precision and logical consistency. It also allows considerable room for amplifying the outer horizon of coherence which emerges in systematic thought. But such logics without participatory and creative experiencing become mechanical repetition or dogmatic imposition. The misfortune of the metropolitan society is that students, after so many years of socialization into the alienation of their minds, find it difficult to name the alienation that they experience in our midst. These are matters that go to the very heart of our common life and set the parameters for our responsible ministry in relation to our neighboring institutions. Many faculty of our research universities are aware of this alienation of mind and struggle in isolation with these problems. In a participatory pedagogy, the appropriation of meanings becomes central to the interrelation of faculties, of students and of the dialogue of institutions of learning. The integrity of a student in coming to terms with one fundamental insight is decisive for what education can mean here and what a professional vocation can signify. To be sure, there are things which need to be absorbed, languages to learn, traditions to appropriate, but only fundamental insights and their appropriation can make such learning significant for a professional vocation. To say this is to recognize that a participatory pedagogy cannot be divorced from the involvement of faculty and students in the struggle for liberation, their own liberation in company with the oppressed and marginalized in all sectors of our future network. Such a liberation and transformation of our pedagogy seems fanciful in the extreme, but nothing less

can release us from the mind of metropolitan society that is in us.

I realize that there is much anguish here over the poverty of our community life. In this too we are typical of the metropolitan society—individualized, set against one another in covert or overt competition, fragmented in our lives and activities, unable to accept ourselves much less others, always looking ahead for recognition and assurance from the society. And the Seminary has a difficult history with authority that led to an intensely hierarchical structure. However, this is not so different from most educational institutions and other structures of metropolitan society. The more individualized and fragmented our society, the more power has become authoritarian and manipulative, albeit usually concealed in the guise of democratic process. This is a chicken and egg situation, in my view. America emerged in a commercial tradition of proprietary individualism. Self-interest and individual gain became the essential meaning of rationality and freedom. John Locke gave the ideological justification for this philosophy of self-advancement and domination. However, the roots of the theory are to be found in the more logical and scientific mind of Thomas Hobbes. The latter realized that if the human was a center of self-interested force, ultimately a system of authoritarian domination would be necessary to compose these forces in a workable whole. John Locke fudged on this matter and opted for the limited state to act as umpire and coordinator. The experience of metropolitan society has borne out Thomas Hobbes and his logic. Authoritarian domination by corporate structures has replaced the limited state and used it as an ideological screen for

its manipulative domination. This is also the condition in most of the institutions of our modern world including our churches.

When I think about a *participatory community*, and in this I include a participatory, decentralized economy as well as politics, using networks of communication for tasks of planning and coordination, then I realize that we shall have to develop a communal praxis of shared responsibility in the very process of converting the structures of authority. We shall have to take over our own lives in process of restructuring policy as a communal process. This is what I would mean by moving toward a *participatory community* in this Seminary and in all the sectors of our network. The polarization over authority in most of our institutions reflects the powerlessness and fragmentation of citizenry in the metropolitan society; hence, the need for more and more authoritarian imposition as the citizenry withdraw into private values and pursuit of their own interests. I am proposing that our praxis inside and outside become the guiding thread for unraveling this pathology of domination, alienation and withdrawal. We are dealing here with generations of learned helplessness and dependency, often disguised as doing what we please and making our own choices.

I find in the women's struggle a paradigm for liberation from this pathology to a participatory community. Women in Western society, not to speak of other epochs and civilization of human history, have experienced enforced dependency and learned helplessness to the nth degree, for women have increasingly provided men with compensatory feelings of power in their very powerlessness. In saying this, I do

not mean to do what men have always done, lay the blame on women or expect women to overcome men's alienation. I am only saying that we shall probably find our way through clues given by women in their struggle with this vicious circle and by sharing attentively in their struggle for liberation in all phases of our common life. This has enormous implications for the future of this Seminary and for the development of its networks of communication—implications that can only be dimly discerned much less implemented at this moment. But we have little more than clues now to our future, for we are at that transition point where the metropolitan society will become truly the Leviathan that Thomas Hobbes so clearly foresaw or begin its slow process of transformation into a human society of creative participation. A participatory community is neither conformist nor totalitarian. It is pluralistic in activities and life, supporting the multiplicity of gifts rather than fragmenting and homogenizing them. Not everyone can function in every place or activity of ministry and learning. We are different, though we share a common ministry, and we need those differences, though we also need vision and direction.

Cultivating Roots

Simone Weil recorded her reflections on France's past and future during the agony of the Nazi occupation. Though the title of her book was translated as "The Need for Roots," the original title meant "cultivating roots." Recently Alex Haley has helped us understand the significance of African roots in preserving Black people through centuries of oppression. These are clues to our fu-

ture during our occupation. As we develop a participatory community, engaged with oppressed peoples in their struggles, we are drawn ever more deeply to our religious roots—the founda-

tions of our faith, the healing of divine grace. Participation is not something we add to our being. Participation is the root meaning of life redeemed in the divine Word.

Church History and the Bible

by KARLFRIED FROEHLICH

A native of Germany, educated at the universities of Goettingen and Basel, the Reverend Karlfried Froehlich is Professor of the History of the Early and Medieval Church. After the completion of doctoral studies under Oscar Cullmann, Dr. Froehlich taught New Testament and Church History at Drew University Divinity School. He is the editor of Oscar Cullmann: Vorträge und Aufsätze (1967) and co-author with Drs. Kee and Young of Understanding the New Testament (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

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It seems appropriate that an inaugural address should present some basic methodological reflections about the field of study which, by virtue of my appointment, I have the duty, joy and honor of teaching among you. This expectation is not only a venerable tradition of this venerable institution, but, I am happy to say, constitutes a direct link to the venerable middle ages. In the heyday of the medieval university, the master in theology began his first course of lectures with a *principium*, an inaugural speech of methodological scope. We have dozens of such *principia* preserved in manuscript, written both by well-known theologians and by the many obscure teachers from the 13th through the 16th centuries. Only recently has scholarly interest begun to turn to this body of material which may well present a major clue to the development of the late medieval treatise on biblical hermeneutics. Since all masters had to lecture on the Bible first, the conventional form of the *principium* seems to have been a *laus sacrae scripturae*, a praise of Holy Scripture. I see myself at least in formal contact with this host of academic fathers when I propose as the topic of my reflections "Church History and the Bible."

I.

Church History is a *theological* discipline. It is this not by choice, but by definition. To speak of "church" always implies a theological decision, a theological principle of identification. Specifically implied is a judgment about the limit, nature, purpose, and even the social reality of the phenomenon one regards as "church." In one word: implied is an ecclesiology. Even though today one's ecclesiology may be quite ecumenical, covering a wide, almost infinite range of what one is willing to endorse as "church," the term always reflects a prior commitment to a reality which, from the standpoint of secular society, must appear as "sectarian," however value-free the adjective may be used.

That Church History is a theological discipline, has to be reclaimed today.

When Karl Barth started to rethink the structure of the entire theological enterprise in his *Church Dogmatics* from the angle of the priorities for the church of his day, church history seemed to get a seat in the very back row. The famous quote from vol. I/1 of his *Church Dogmatics* reads:

So-called church history does not answer a question which must be raised

independently, concerning the Christian talk about God. It is therefore not to be regarded as an independent theological discipline. It is *the* indispensable *auxiliary science* of exegetical, dogmatic, and practical theology.

Of course, no self-respecting intellectual wants to run just an auxiliary enterprise for others, and even if he does, resents being told so. The loud protest of professional church historians has claimed that Barth's devaluation of church history was the inevitable consequence of its theologization. If church history is seen as a *theological* discipline, so it seemed to many, it must needs become the servant of any prevalent dogmatism, the propaganda tool of churches who will want to bend the patient historical facts which can no longer defend themselves, to their sectarian purposes. However, this protest did not just arise from the hurt pride of professionals or from the moral posture of defending a defenseless past against manipulative misuse. It arose from the immense respect for monument and document, for historical evidence and its contingent character, which the age of historicism had taught historians and should have taught theologians as well. This respect had always driven church historians into seeking closer contacts with secular historical scholarship during those decades, in the hope of finding greener pastures of freedom to investigate sources and of "objectivity" in interpreting them—of an objectivity which seemed to be the only appropriate attitude for the one who respected the past.

The inner emigration of church history from the theological disciplines and the concomitant radical secularization

of ecclesiastical historiography has become a characteristic feature of the academic scene in America. The American Church History Society is holding its meetings in conjunction with those of the American Historical Association, and even if it were to change this practice, the major option would be joining hands with the American Academy of Religion, one of the most powerful constituents of the Council on the Study of Religion, whose membership is drawn from all settings in which religion is taught as an academic subject. Church historians accordingly tend to define their work in terms of a descriptive science, for which any theological commitment has at best an extra-curricular function. It is even more likely to be regarded as forcing one's discipline into a circle of dogmatic chronicle where everything is self-explanatory, or as obscuring the much more important keys to its interpretation which are offered by social history, psycho-history, or the history of culture. Church historians are uneasy with their task in this company and often enough prefer to teach the "history of Christianity" or other, more neutral and objective titles. Much of this tendency no doubt is due to the peculiar sociology of academe in America which, in its supremely tolerant approach to *all* subject matter, including religion, as a possible subject for scientific investigation, has a distinct advantage over the traditional framework of central Europe where theological schools still hold the first place among the "faculties" of a university while in the public mind the very place of anything that smells of religion has long since become questionable and plainly anachronistic.

It is this situation of polite invitational

peer pressure to fill a predetermined slot that makes it necessary to reclaim church history as a theological discipline. Respect for the monument and document, respect for evidence is certainly an irrevocable heritage of the era of historicism. But respect is not just the result, it is the presupposition of a fruitful relationship, the precondition for a fair and equitable encounter between engaged and engaging partners.

It must be remembered that Karl Barth's dictum about church history as an auxiliary science was not meant to be a defamation of a reputable branch of learning. It was meant as an attack on the oppressive weight of the historical sciences, quite specifically against the imperialism of a church history from whose pontifications in the name of scientific method there seemed to be no recourse in the church or in the other fields of academic theology. It was an attempt to restore at least some fair balance out of respect for the church and its integrity, and out of the realization that even in history method does not in itself assure the knowledge of truth.

Thus, to speak of church history as a *theological* discipline, despite all the dangers, is not just a predicament. In the face of the ever-present threat of an imperialism of historical scholarship in a scientific age it is also a blessing which saves the church historians a great deal of unfruitful apologetic, by giving his dialogue with the past a necessary place and focus and a primary audience within a much wider potential range of people who might want or find it necessary to listen. Obviously, historians wish to know "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*" (Ranke's phrase), what has actually happened, but they want to know it *in*

a *perspective*, as Father Georges Florovsky once put it. "Commitment is a token of freedom, a prerequisite of responsiveness."

2.

Church history is also a historical discipline. It is part of the far more comprehensive enterprise of historical study, and again it is this not by choice but by definition. As church *history* its material participates in the universal scope of the totality of the humanly experienced past which is properly subjected to investigation by the critical methods developed in this particular brand of knowledge.

Thus, church history cannot claim a special category of holy history which would not be open to investigation by historical criticism. Some thirty-five years ago, Oscar Cullmann re-introduced the term "*Heilsgeschichte*" in the theological debate. He never understood *Heilsgeschichte* as describing a group of specially elevated, inherently sacred events whose nature is inaccessible to the general historian's mind. Rather, *Heilsgeschichte* describes a faith judgment on the coherence of specific events within the scope of universal history, which judgment *is* traceable, and can be traced, by historical-critical analysis of the evidence, beginning with the New Testament. With all historical disciplines church history shares fully not only the potential but also the problems of the historical-critical method about whose limits much has been written since Croce, Collingwood, and Löwith. There can also be no difference in the kind of subject matter. Church history's subject is always part of universal history, of the totality of humanly experienced past, event as well as interpreta-

tion. Regardless of what exact segment church history will have to treat, it is and remains part and parcel of this totality. This has consequences. For the church historian to emigrate from the theological disciplines does not mean that the task will ever be anything less than the grasping of this totality. If there is no sacred corner for church history, there is no sacred corner for any other kind of history either. All such unassailable corners are eventually passed by as utterly irrelevant in the historical process of life, if they do not face up to the challenge of the "horizon of universal history" (Pannenberg), the "*whole amplitude of human concerns*" (Florovsky).

That church history is a historical discipline has to be repeated today with unequivocal clarity. We experience much pious romanticism in churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and Christian individuals. It seems that about any plausible account of church history by any properly endorsed expert in pulpit or teaching chair can be and is being mistaken for that history itself and serves as sectarian self-justification or as the reinforcement of communal prejudice, particularly when it comes in the reassuring garb of modern scientific jargon. Today, the historicizing of myth is perhaps a greater danger than the mythicizing of history has ever been, and pious fraud in this regard is often hard to detect in a community, Christian or not, which is struggling for self-identity and a definable place in a pluralistic society.

In the years around the second World War, several students of Karl Barth in Germany took Barth's definition of church history as an auxiliary science and applied it rigorously to the task of

separating right from wrong in the church struggle and its aftermath. Church history was relevant only insofar as it helped to separate the sheep from the goats. It had become a "decisional," an existential discipline. Such an application may have its relative right in this and other times of crisis. But it only underscores the precarious position of an "auxiliary science," a "*Hilfswissenschaft*," and its modern protestant proponents are seldom aware of the closeness to the attitude of Cardinal Manning who hailed the decrees of the First Vatican Council as the much needed "victory of dogma over history."

Against any such imperialism of dogma and present ephemeral need it is necessary to hold the fact that church history is by definition a historical discipline which remains responsible for the totality of the humanly experienced past, not just for any convenient segment. In this context, the legitimate call of history may come through not so much by listening to the "engaged" historians of our time who make no apology for their standpoint because everybody has one anyway. It may come through, more importantly, by hearing those less fervent voices of the quiet workers who are carrying on the great legacy of historicism in their application of the historical-critical methods to the production of critical editions, the correction of historical detail, the retracing of the biographical steps of this or that seemingly obscure figure. As a matter of fact, every good historian has started somewhere in this kind of terrain. The church historian can spare him- or herself considerable trouble in constructing a plausible argument if he or she keeps close to results and pro-

cedures of a lot of dull, but solid scholarship.

Looking once more at Karl Barth's controversial dictum, we should point out that Barth in fact acknowledged the importance of historical method and critical research. Church history, he said, is *the* indispensable auxiliary science for all other aspects of the theological enterprise. This can only mean that he presupposed its use without any question. On this point, times may have changed. Against the pious ostracism of history rampant in our time we may have to spell out again the absolute requirement of sober historical research as the basis for any ever so relevant approach to church history. There is no shortcut to relevance.

Of course, there can be no doubt that the discipline of history itself has fallen on evil days: not in terms of output or of manpower tied down by it in academe, but in terms of its place in the public consciousness. The posture of the historian as a scientist has quite naturally led to the demand for "scientific proof" in history, and no subsequent disclaimer that there really is no presuppositionless, objective history could ward off the resulting confusion, when historians failed to deliver the original promise. For many people, history has become too difficult and too unprofitable to get excited about. It is no longer fiction but it is not science either. The spectacular rise of structuralism in recent years may be a good indication of this general mood: for its approach to reality it no longer uses a historical model with all the concomitant hermeneutic ambiguity, but a linguistic one. Whatever the value of the movement may be, it seems today to satisfy better than the historical disciplines the hunger for scientific or

pseudoscientific method in the mind of the time. History is in a deep crisis of meaning.

But to speak of church history as a *historical* discipline is not just a predicament. In the face of the ever increasing tendency to use history for apologetics, to ride it as an easy vehicle to pious relevance, it is a blessing to be confronted with the unpredictable otherness of the historical past such as critical and honest scholarship encounters it. To do church history in terms of confronting humanly experienced past in its givenness holds out the promise of something really *new*, of seeing really *new* light, of becoming open to truly *new* horizons, of experiencing change in ourselves, precisely because we cannot change the past. History itself in its inexhaustible universal horizon is the given, and as such the best dialogue partner to help us discover that life never needs to be dull.

3.

Both as a theological and a historical discipline church history has to do with the Bible: As a *theological* discipline because church and Bible belong inextricably together. One of the fundamental tenets of the ecclesiology of the Reformers was that there can be no church without the Bible as the central witness to the Word of God in Jesus Christ. On the other hand, one of the fundamental results of the modern ecclesiological debate in the ecumenical context has been the insight that there is no Bible without the Church—the Church which received the apostolic witness, selected the canon, and gave the biblical witness unity by its interpretation. As a *historical* discipline, church history has to do with the Bible

because church history cannot be entered at any arbitrary point. It is unalterably oriented toward a fixed point, the primary document of which is the New Testament and its interpretative annexation of the Old. Thus, from both sides, the theological and the historical, the task of reflecting on the relationship of church history and the Bible is an intrinsic methodological necessity.

It seems to me that the major contribution to this task in recent decades has come from Gerhard Ebeling, now of Zürich, Switzerland, and it may be appropriate to mark an anniversary today. It was 30 years ago almost to the day that Gerhard Ebeling delivered his inaugural lecture as a *Privatdozent* in the field of church history at Tübingen University. The title of his essay was: "Church History As the History of the Exposition of Holy Scripture."

Ebeling proceeded by first analyzing the place of church history in the theological enterprise, stressing like Barth (but without the note of an auxiliary science) the interdependence of all of its branches since the advent of a pervasive critical methodology. He then characterized three conceptions of church history—the Catholic, the enthusiastic, and the one represented by the Reformers—as an outgrowth of different understandings of the relation between church and history, squarely placing his own formula in the line of the Reformers. However, he found a difficulty with even the Reformers' stance in their lack of a clear definition of the relation due to their *ecclesiological* distinction between "visible" and "invisible" church. His own formula was then not meant to simply tie church history to the discernible manifestations of the concrete word of the Bible, or to any speculative his-

tory of the "Word of God." Particularly the former point has often been overlooked. For Ebeling, church history was not just Bible history, but the extremely complicated history of a self-interpreting and an interpreted Bible. In the third part, Ebeling spelled out the help he expected from the formula: It would assist in delimiting the exact province of church history, it would help define its nature in terms of the ongoing stream of traditioning throughout the centuries, and it would determine its theological character (in good Barthian terms) as "the radical critical destruction" of tradition as a barrier instead of a pointer to Christ.

The context in which the proposal has to be seen was no doubt Karl Barth's theology of the Word of God, and the rise of the hermeneutical question in New Testament exegesis which owed much to Barth's impulse. Particularly in Barthian circles, the enthusiasm for the Ebeling thesis was considerable. Ebeling had not found it necessary in his lecture to touch on biblical hermeneutics directly, repudiating an understanding of the Bible without history. As a matter of fact, the hermeneutical situation at the front seemed to be far beyond such concerns for a student of Rudolf Bultmann. The exciting thing for his readers was that he now seemed to fight an understanding of church history without the Bible in the framework of a historical-critical approach to both. Thus his title (and often no more than that) was read as a program asking for a new method in historiography: "Auslegungsgeschichte," the history of the exposition of Scripture. At the First Patristic Conference at Oxford in 1955, two young church historians, David Lerch and Lukas Vischer, pre-

sented an outline of how such a "discipline" might function. It is interesting that there is no reference to Ebeling in their paper. This suggests that different interests were riding the crest of the wave. Soon after this initiative, two new monograph series started to be published in the new field: "Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese" and "Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik," but again without Ebeling among the editors. Lerch and Vischer had argued as follows: By understanding a particular interpretation as part of a history-of-exegesis process, the discipline on the one hand could shed light on the exegesis of the text itself; on the other hand, it could open up ways into a largely unexplored area of primary materials in the commentary literature of all centuries, and it could also be of corrective value in the history of theology, where the quest for "immanent development" and "influences" dominated too much. It could finally open a new hermeneutical vista on the Bible itself: "The history-of-exegesis material becomes a mirror of the mystery which the text itself is witnessing to."

While the (otherwise Barthian) sentence is deficient in failing to include the history of possible distortions of the text, I have become convinced myself that historical "understanding" of a Biblical text cannot stop with the elucidation of its prehistory and of its historical "Sitz im Leben," with its focus on the intention of the author. Understanding must take into account the text's post-history as the paradigm of the text's own historicity, i.e., as the way in which the text itself can function as a source of human self-interpretation in a variety of contexts, and thus,

through its historical interpretations, is participating in the shaping of life. I still regard making accessible the sources of early and medieval exegesis as an enterprise well worth my own time and effort as a scholar. But I have become aware that more than the biblical exegetes who all too often have their very restricted agenda of squeezing the text for meaning, it is art historians, literary historians, political scientists, and church historians who want and know how to read these materials as sources.

4.

Thirty years after the initial event it seems wise to assess the situation. For this purpose I have found helpful a review article on the Ebeling thesis by Friedrich De Boor, published in 1972, and a 1971 issue of the journal, "Verkündigung und Forschung," with contributions by younger church historians such as Wolf Dieter Hauschild, Gustav Adolf Benrath, and Klaus Scholder, who survey the field of the history of exegesis. The reviewers agree in their basic impression that the results of work in the new discipline have been disappointing and have not fulfilled the high expectations of the early years. Exegesis itself did not profit much, since it has not been clear for exegetes studying the history of biblical interpretations what exactly they could and should be looking for in the "pre-critical" materials. The commentaries of the fathers with their own rich and varied agendas did not answer the precise critical questions that were raised, and the tracing of random texts in their history of exposition yielded at best interesting details and the impression of a bewildering zig-zag course. The same impression

of a certain help- and aimlessness prevails when one uses the first recent commentary on a biblical book which, by design, includes sections on the history of exegesis, Brevard Childs' *Book of Exodus* (1974). The history-of-exegesis sections, while presenting most interesting material from Jewish and Christian sources, look somewhat contrived and respond to the requirements of a principle more than to an organic need. In fact, Childs wants to reeducate scholarly and pastoral exegetes whose training he thinks has rendered them incapable of making sense of pre-critical materials so that these could in a meaningful way inform the living interpretation of the Bible in the church today. I find the intention highly laudable and the implicit encouragement to biblical scholars to become church historians existentially appealing. But good intentions are no assurance of success. The church historian will have to remain doubtful of the value of random selections of sources which can hardly provide a plausible developmental picture. He will have to ask himself, however, how much more would in fact be needed. Perhaps this would differ with every passage. But if no solid critical attempt is made to sort out the diffuse material, the developmental organization can hardly hide the fact that we have here no more than a modern *catena*. Of course, *catenae* are most interesting sources if one knows how to read them, but to teach this reading skill was supposedly the purpose, not the presupposition of this commentary. I personally think that without much more detailed study independent of the production of commentaries and without effective teamwork similar single-handed enterprises have little chance of success, par-

ticularly when an exegete is doing the whole job. In the meantime, the value of such efforts, however limited, for a new generation of exegetes may lie exactly in the confrontation with strikingly different patterns of exegetical thought and practice which have a logic of their own, and in the timely warning that historical method must lead into ever increasing contacts with other disciplines rather than to an ever greater concentration on a restricted specialty.

Historians of doctrine or of theology who have contributed to the history of exegesis seem to have achieved somewhat better results. Yet here, too, the overall value of the work is judged to be rather limited. No really new aspects have come to light, though individual insights have been deepened and guesses have been corrected. Dissatisfaction seems to center on various diachronic attempts to trace the history of a passage through the centuries. The success, it is maintained, depends entirely on the selection of a good passage, one which *has made* history rather than just *having* one. But who would have known that Prov. 8:22-25 was the touchstone of the Nicene controversy on the Arian side? And how *can* one know? On the other hand, in cases which would have seemed logical choices, the outcome has been quite unexpected or disappointing, as in one case where the conclusion of a thorough study on Rom. 13 was that the exegetical literature contributed little or nothing to the formation of medieval political theory and ethics. The reviewers find this hit-and-miss game distressing. I must confess that I am more optimistic here. In his delightful 1964 presidential address on "Theodosius' Horse," the church historian Albert Outler said: "Every segment of

the human maze sprawls past the boundaries of reason and marches with infinity." What we need first is a knowledge of the material regardless of its aimed usefulness, inroads into the vast maze the coherence of which we can only guess. The surprises in the field are normal for work in relatively unknown sources, and much initial effort has to be wasted as long as there is no glimpse of a pattern as yet. It is the cumulative effect of surprises that removes surprise and will make a surer approach possible. We may still need quite a number of less successful studies tracing the history of specific texts as well as the underlying history of hermeneutics before we will really know what questions to ask and how to make selections.

Finally, despite positive response to Ebeling's thesis, there seems to be no comprehensive attempt anywhere to write church history from the angle of the history of the exposition of Scripture. Ebeling himself, one author noted, has never tackled the task. Hauschild frankly doubts the potential of the Ebeling thesis as a historiographic device: Ebeling's program, he writes, "has not produced a corresponding treatment of the history and doctrine of the Ancient Church, because this would even hardly have been possible." I am still wondering about this flat denial of historiographic relevance for the thesis. Is it the last word? Could such a treatment be tried? Should it?

Early critics have charged, and the meager results of the more recent work have reenforced the impression that Ebeling's thesis cannot stand unrevised today. His definition was "too narrow." The history of the exposition of scripture does not yet make church history.

The history of the *means* by which God calls together his people is no surrogate for the history of this people. On the other hand, Ebeling's understanding of "exposition" as including the historical expression of Christian life in many forms has been criticized as being much "too wide." It "blurs the contours," leads into limitlessness and allows for no clear principle of selection any more. Even De Boer who is generally sympathetic toward Ebeling's stance regards "all attempts to substitute the history of hermeneutics or of the exposition of scripture for church history or the history of doctrine . . . as an error."

5.

One critic, Hauschild, at least allows the possibility that this may not be all Ebeling's fault. Contrary to the use some enthusiasts have made of his slogan for *their* agenda, Ebeling's title did not propose a clear definition of church history in identity terms. The English translation in the volume of his essays: "Church History *Is* the History of the Exposition of Holy Scripture," if it is not a typographical error, is a mistranslation of the German: "Kirchengeschichte *als* Geschichte der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift." Hauschild suggests that rather than being read as the charter of a new discipline or a program for church history writing, Ebeling's definition should be seen as the "interpretive horizon," the *Deutehorizont*, within which church history can be properly understood. Not a developmental history of exposition, but the continuous event of such interpretation is what Ebeling drew attention to.

If Hauschild is correct, then Ebeling's start, despite all the interest in a theological foundation, may well have been

the *history* side of church history. History was the basic given, the proper subject matter to be understood; history in its widest sense as the sum of the humanly experienced past, yet in a historical perspective. And Ebeling's proposal may then have been to approach this vast realm of the given with the ordering question of the manifold encounter with the Bible, a historical phenomenon itself; an encounter which is undeniable for most of Western history and can serve as the basic principle of selection. Church history as the history of the exposition of scripture would then not start with a concept of the *church*, however defined theologically or sociologically, a church whose story could be traced just under the aspect of its carrying the biblical message. Nor would it start with the *Bible*, either as the seed for the story of a growth process or as a supra-historical norm dividing history at any given cross-section into legitimate and illegitimate events. Church history would have to start with history in its widest possible sense. We remember the charge by critics that Ebeling cast the net too wide, that the limits of a manageable discipline were blurred. But this is precisely the point: *Anything* in Western culture could be the start for church historical concern. The limit is set solely by the direct or indirect encounter with the historical scriptures, presupposed or suspected in a specific case. The revolutionary aspect of Ebeling's thesis was that it drew attention to an interpretive horizon in Western history which historians so far had no use for: the immense power of biblical language (understood or misunderstood) that not only shapes now but has shaped a great deal of human life and action in a decisive manner.

It is my opinion that such an approach does hold considerable historiographic potential. It may not lead (except marginally) to diachronic histories of the exegesis of particular passages by themselves, nor to a history of hermeneutics, but, using partial results of both, it could encourage a style of history writing that would expose this normative power of the biblical language not only as a post-factum reflection or rationalization, but also as the historical start for thought and action.

Let me give an example. I think that the early history of Mariology, the devotion to the Virgin Mary, may be written as a history of biblical interpretation. As far as we can tell, there are no early independent sources of information about Mary in second century Christianity except what we find reflected in the canonical gospels and writings. Therefore, all of the later tenets of mariological doctrine must be somehow related to the interpretation, under the impact of other historical forces, of the hints to Jesus' mother which we have there. This applies already to the creation of the earliest writing with an independent interest in Mary, the apocryphal "*Protevangelium of James*." From the late second century on, its stories about Mary's childhood and Jesus' birth set the pace for a growing veneration of Mary as well as for specific features of Marian doctrine. But the *Protevangelium* itself should be understood as a pious reflection upon the slim biblical basis. According to the most recent critical editor and interpreter, the author's method was to enrich the canonical birth stories by a deep and devout imagination nourished everywhere by biblical types and allusions, but not by independent sources.

Here we find already the concept of Mary's virginity in giving birth and after birth, both likely to be expansions of the meaning of the title "virgin" in Mt. 1:27 (quoting Isa. 7:14) and Lk. 1:32, where it refers to a virginal conception only. To support this particular expansion, Jesus' brothers who are mentioned in the gospels, are declared to be the sons of Joseph's former marriage, a standard explanation which (on the basis of a specific interpretation of Lk. 1:34) was later replaced by Jerome. It seems easy to trace the late tradition of Mary's house in Ephesus which even affects tourist traffic today to an imaginative combination of Jesus' word on the cross: "Woman, behold your son" (Jn. 19:27) with the assumed johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel and the tradition of this John's later residence in Ephesus. After all, Jn. 19:28 says that the disciple took her "into his own." But even the unfavorable details about Mary which Origen quotes from the pagan, Celsus, are traceable, it seems to me, to interpretations of the canonical basis of the *Protevangelium*. Jesus' illegitimate birth from a soldier named Panthera, while perhaps reflecting early Jewish polemics, in fact interprets the scriptural account of the virgin birth. The portrayal of Mary as a poor peasant girl rests on Celsus' understanding of Nazareth as a small Jewish village, her "spinning for hire" seems to be an unfriendly reading of the skills the *Protevangelium* attributes to her, just as the emphasis on Mary as a "nobody" may polemicize against the same book's legend of her noble, wealthy, and well-known family background.

To be sure, mariology is an example from the history of Christian thought and doctrine where the connections to

the biblical language can be most easily seen. But it would be equally possible to investigate other historical phenomena from this angle: a movement such as early Franciscanism, a political event such as a medieval tyrannicide, a work of Romanesque art, a group of pieces of early English vernacular literature. As a matter of fact, art historians and literary historians seem to have felt the need to get into church history in the horizon of a history of biblical interpretation long before church historians have been awakening to its potential.

If the history of the exposition of scripture is suggested as no more than the "interpretive horizon" for church history, it need not be the only historiographic device in the field. Other approaches would remain equally valid and must constantly be tried. All of them are partial and provisional and remind us that it is in the nature of history as a given that it presents its understanding as a never ending task. Those who expected the Ebeling thesis to provide a universal key expected too much. In fact, they probably misread his argument. What should be clear, however, is that the concrete form of historiography which writes history from the angle of the history of biblical exposition does have a place in historical studies and will therefore have a future in church history, notwithstanding its problems of scope and method and the justified criticism of its results to date.

6.

Our theme was: Church history and the Bible. There was once a time, when church history reigned as queen among the theological disciplines. For Harnack, biblical studies were part of church

history, and theology was in the category of belles-lettres.

There was another time when systematic theology wore the crown. For Karl Barth and many of his friends, church history was an auxiliary science, and exegesis appeared in small print in the *Church Dogmatics*.

There was still another time when biblical studies seemed to be queen. Bultmann saw theology as part of the hermeneutical task of interpreting the Bible, and critical history was the tool. Who will be next? Which queen will be elected? Let us face it. Ours is no time for royalty. There will no longer be queens. As in so many other branches of knowledge all parts of the theological enterprise have become so interlocked, so interdependent that the lines are drawn mainly for the division of labor. Despite the stubbornness of our structures, we have no other choice but to cross lines, to become "dialogical" in our professional work. Other disciplines in the theological community may already be far advanced in the experience of this mode of existence. Church history still has a long way to go in order to be truly itself in this dialogical situation. We spoke of the dilemma of the church historian. On the one hand, there is the constant temptation of inner emigration which often hampers the dialogue with his theological peers. On the other hand there is the commitment

to a "sectarian" stance in the eyes of the other historical disciplines which leaves him as somewhat of a stranger in the dialogue with them.

I think that on this long way the Ebeling thesis can assume a significant role. It seems to have the advantage of focusing the discipline's attention on a central point. Within the theological disciplines all dialogue has an open or hidden point of reference, the dialogue with the Bible as the primary "document" of the Christian faith. To say this is no endorsement of a hierarchical curricular sequence of "Bible and Church History." Rather, church history has as much to do with the Bible as systematic or practical theology and as the academic discipline of biblical studies. To see church history in the interpretive horizon of the history of the exposition of scripture seems a proper answer to the challenge of this situation. But as an interpretive horizon it also provides the distinctly historical basis for the dialogue with the other historical sciences. I regard doing church history in this way as a singular opportunity for the field in which I have chosen to teach to find its valid place as a historical science among the theological disciplines, but also to contribute in the ongoing dialogue with the historical disciplines outside the seminary something of the very essence of my and of any theological discipline.

I Was Baptized Once, But What Happened?

Sermon by BRYANT M. KIRKLAND

THERE has been an increasing number of infant and adult baptisms in The Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church. There are two reasons for this growth. One is a general deepening of the spiritual life of the congregation. The other cause has been a rethinking of the meaning of the ceremony and a willingness by many to participate publicly to discover the richness of the experience. This has applied equally to parents bringing their children and to mature adults receiving baptism for the first time in the circle of encouraging friends.

But many of us do not remember the event of our own baptism, even though our parents and grandparents will never forget the feelings of love they had at that time. All we may remember of the occasion is what we have been told during intervening years. Naturally, as a result, our own baptismal experience does not loom large in our thinking until we ourselves present children for dedication or have the privilege of serving as a sponsor to the child of a friend. However, at this point you may be asking yourself, what is the relevance of the subject of baptism to me in the middle of all my real problems? The answer is that it may offer a clue to you for something spiritual which may be missing in your life, something wistful in your private thinking, something

Since 1960, the Rev. Bryant M. Kirkland has been minister at the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City. A native of New Jersey and an alumnus of Wheaton College and Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. Kirkland has received honorary degrees from a number of colleges and universities. He is a visiting lecturer in Preaching at Princeton as well as President of the Board of Trustees.

flat in your usual zest and enthusiasm. Baptism may be understood afresh as the first step in a lifetime of spiritual adventure.

The use of water in ceremonial baptismal washings is an ancient symbol of deep meaning in many cultures throughout the world. It is a graphic, tactile and visual symbol of commitment, cleansing, and commencement of a new inner life. Its power of remembrance lies in the delightful body response to a drink of cool water and to the refreshing toning which follows bathing and hand-washing. The difficulty today, however, is that the symbol and its rich meanings have been divided up into various emphases and the rite has been separated from its value as a lifelong process of growth.

The aspect of commitment is what the parents feel in their joy and wonder as they dedicate the miracle of a new life to God. They claim His covenant promise to bless and guide them as a family and not just as individuals in solitary isolation. Those who stress adult baptism tend to emphasize the cleansing symbol of the washing away of recognized sins. Of course, infants cannot express such responsibility and who knows what is their inner consciousness. The Christian friends who practice total immersion highlight still another aspect of the baptismal cere-

mony. That is the adult consciousness of the commencement of a new life by dying to selfishness and rising to a new spirit. This is what sinking into the water and rising again means. Baptism has nothing to do with the quantity of water used but with the intention of the participants and the symbolization of the attitude of their hearts. Parents with children, young people making a sincere but naive expression of faith, adults who have suffered the failure and guilt of life, all come to the same ceremony with different values to be fulfilled. Certainly a man or woman of the world has a sense of new life commenced which is different from a nervous adolescent joining with the group support of loving classmates. And both of these are distinct feelings from those of the parents, who stand silently before the slumbering figure in a crib and pray to be worthy teachers of that life potential which is their own infant.

The problem with baptism, from a social viewpoint, is that its various major aspects have been separated and divided from each other and from the ongoing process of Christian living. A petal is not a flower and a blossom is not a bouquet. Baptism is nothing in itself apart from an initiatory rite into the lifelong adventure of Christian experience. So much stress has been made socially on getting a baby baptized that people forget that adult baptism was the original main emphasis. Therefore, many adults who were never baptized as children now see it only as an event for babies and are too embarrassed to receive adult baptism, unless in utter privacy. But this is a self-defeating attitude. Baptism is a joyful, public event marking the commencement of new life, the thrill of cleansing and the com-

mitment to God's covenant of saving grace. Because this life of joy is so meaningful, we present our children for inclusion in it by infant baptism. But it all began with the adult experience and continues its meaningfulness only as long as adults practice it and remember its rich meaning.

There are two other sides to the problem of baptism in modern culture. Since it has been disconnected from its ongoing process of spiritual development, baptism has, for some people, taken on a magical sense. Of course there is no inherent power in the sacrament. It is an outward sign of the inward work of the Holy Spirit. The other phase of the problem concerns persons who come to a fresh and mature religious experience and have few ways to express outwardly their new inner convictions. They feel thwarted in their attempt to symbolize and seal their new relationship to God. Of course, those who have not been baptized can have a very meaningful witness by their public adult baptism. But those who were sprinkled as children or even those who were immersed as adolescents have no further step. Some make the mistake of denying the validity of their earlier experiences. They forget that the simple steps brought forth the mature strides. What we really need is an additional symbolic ceremony to mark adult and further mature commitments to Christ as Lord and Saviour.

Until something suitable is worked out in local congregations or the universal church, it is helpful to look at the basic dynamics of baptism and try to rediscover them right where we are in the journey of life. Fundamentally, these are the community of the faithful, the continuance of lifelong Christian

education, the commitment of the heart to Christ and the enjoyment of the charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit. Let us look at these separately.

The Community of the Believers

Baptism involves a community of believers who promise to provide a situation where a boy or girl can grow up in the faith, with encouragement and support, until a mature confession of belief is made. Some churches call this step confirmation of the baptismal vows. When these get separated, that is when baptismal influence breaks down. It is like buying a bond and never clipping the coupons or presenting the paper for final redemption. It becomes a loss.

More people are involved in a valid baptism than loving relatives. There is the recognition that many others are needed to fulfill a person's life physically and spiritually. Doctors and bakers and teachers are required. Bible translators, hymn writers, Sunday-School teachers are needed. What parents teach is validated by what outsiders believe—or vitiated by their scornful disbelief. Parents are fortunate who have other parental friends and their children to support their efforts to bring up a child in the faith. No one ever did it successfully alone. The debt we owe to so many is beyond expression. Even adults without children have had a significant influence for other families in the warm fellowship of a congregation.

Normally all baptisms should be made in front of the whole congregation in public worship to dramatize the corporate aspect. In the ceremony, one of the important vows is not just that of the parents to pray for their child, but the vow of the congregation, as a whole,

to help raise the child by providing an environment where what the parents say and do makes sense to the questioning young person. The strength of this ingredient is sorely missed when baptisms are held in private, as if they were merely a cultural event for select friends. The same attitude that isolates the baptismal ceremony into a private enclave fosters the erroneous idea that Christian faith is a private individual matter and not a congregational one. Few people can practice a healthy, ebullient, growing Christian life all by themselves. They are driven either by their felt needs or the exuberance of their blessings to associate with other disciples in order to gain insights or to express gratitude to God. One of the reasons for a congregation is to continue the momentum of young and old believers by sharing their joys and sorrows in mutual helpfulness. A congregation of people flourish when they take seriously their obligations to one another. Otherwise they turn inward on themselves and become overly concerned with self-defeating trivia.

The Continuation of Growth

Another emphasis which validates baptism is the continuity of the process of Christian education initiated by the event, whether it concerns infants or adults. What parent ever felt adequately equipped to cope with sixteen years of child training? What sixteen-year-old felt adequate to deal with the tangles of romance or the tensions of the job market after schooling? Living takes learning just as much as does tennis playing or getting up on water skis. Spiritual growth can take place through all the years of adolescence, middle age and the fearful adventures of retire-

ment. Most of all the querulous years of senility require the patient cooperation of younger people to fulfill their partnership in the baptismal care of aged people.

Not all growth is steady or consistent. There are neglected times and dry periods in the process of maturation. It is not always springtime. There is the hibernation of winter. Baptism takes this rhythm into account. There is a time to grow and a time to consolidate. But always there is the thread of continuity. The congregation is the vehicle of continuance. Young persons may be going through a disturbing period of anarchy or defeat, but if they stay in the fellowship they can remain friends with others outside of their family who have weathered bad experiences and can love them without the mingled embarrassment and despair that parents might feel. In reverse, many an older man or woman looks up from private skepticism to be renewed in attitude by the energetic younger members of the congregation who are filled with optimism and hope. The bond of baptism symbolizes that we all need each other in differing ways and at different times. The educational process goes on beyond classrooms. The graphics are not all done on blackboards. Sometimes it is just the encouraging sight of another believer who demonstrated that we too can prevail, just when we thought we might quit.

The Commitment to Closeness to Christ

There is something more than continuance in education and the corporate community of the congregation in getting the full joy out of baptism. The next ingredient is a commitment to closeness to Christ through the vicissi-

tudes of the years. This means there will be peaks of spiritual attainments and valleys of difficulty but always a bond and commitment to the enterprise of discipleship. It is easy to feel the exhilaration of the mountaintops. But it is also necessary to feel the commitment to plod across the valley to climb the next summit. Unfortunately, some camp down in the valley rather than struggling up the next hill. To do this in adult life means planning and creating our own growth situations which do not come automatically, as they once did in the high-school years.

This means finding additional resources to nourish spiritual growth. These include regular attendance and participation at the Lord's Supper of holy communion. This in itself can be a periodic remembrance and rededication of baptism on an adult level. There is help to be gained from regular private meditation and prayer. One of the surprises of the day is the number of people who have known about devotional life for a long time, but have now spent hundreds of dollars to learn the technique under the name of transcendental meditation. What some have just discovered was practiced long ago by Jesus, who went up into the mountain to pray and was transfigured there. But again, we rush through the Lord's prayer as if it were the secret combination to a safe-deposit box rather than an index to great themes for meditation and reflection, such as thy kingdom come in me . . . now.

Besides prayer, there is systematic reading and attendance at group retreats and summer conferences. Many of these are coordinated with extensive opportunities to travel with congenial

persons who are seeking a fresh and advanced Christian experience.

Perhaps you can see with me how baptism falls flat, when it is removed from the context of community of believers, continuity of Christian education, and growing commitment and communion with Christ. A hollow feeling or vacuum develops. Naturally we yearn to fill it with something meaningful or exciting. If we do not, then lassitude or critical cynicism develops. Part of the boredom or rebellion against church life can be explained by this lack. Young people see the fancy ceremony of baptism administered to others and then detect that nothing ever seems to come from it. They start thinking it is part of the irrelevancy of religion. What really happens is that they have been cheated out of the great adventure of a lifelong process of fellowship and growth. However it is never too late to return to the enterprise.

The Enjoyment of the Charismatic Gifts

The awakened spiritual hunger we have talked about above is partly responsible for the renewed emphasis and rediscovery of the reality of the Holy Spirit on the part of many adults who cannot recall the event of their baptism nor its significance. This emphasis has been popularly called the charismatic movement. Basically, it is a projection back into importance of what has been implicit in the Christian faith. It is the baptismal outlook we have been talking about. This new emphasis fills a need for many who have had a spiritual hunger or have wanted to grow into fullness of the Spirit, as it is plainly described in the New Testament. (Read

Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians where both the blessings and the warnings of excess are described, as well as the poverty of soul of those who have neither blessings nor enthusiasm.)

The charismatic movement, as properly emphasized in the New Testament, could be a great blessing to the modern era. Unfortunately, it contains the same errors which crept into the human nature of disciples in earlier periods and proved disruptive. One of these errors is to separate the baptism with water from the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is an artificial distinction because it fails to remember that the baptismal process is a continual one, a continuity of process of relationships and of obedience to Christ. These are the important elements of a Spirit-filled life, rather than that it is being an isolated or esoteric individual experience. To put it positively, when one becomes filled with the Holy Spirit more than others seem to be, that person is being sent back to the local congregation by the Lord to be a blessing to the congregation in the fulfilling of its corporate community life of faith. The gift of fullness of the Spirit is for the congregation and not for the individual.

Another mistake, in the ranks of some people in the charismatic movement, is that they make speaking in unknown tongues a test and a measure of the coming of the Spirit. Now speaking in tongues is a legitimate experience, according to the New Testament. But the same source declares that it is the least of the spiritual gifts. It is always given for the benefit of the church and not for the possession of the individual to use it as a test against another believer. Failure to recognize these points has un-

fortunately disrupted some fellowships across the country. In each case the tension is the fault of both sides, because where the Holy Spirit of the Lord is there is to be found humility and reconciling love. He had prayed that this would be the hallmark of His disciples.

It should be remembered that the initial baptismal rite of dedication contained all the possibilities of spiritual growth and advancement in faith, under the Holy Spirit's normal work. These included cleansing from sin, incorporation into the family of God's people, conversion from a cultural orientation to a Christian discipleship, acknowledgment of the deeper sanctifying work of the Spirit in the surrendering heart of Christ, the daily renewal of obedient living and praising God in all things, together with the Holy Spirit's work of illumination and guidance. And that should be sufficient to excite any believer to a lifetime of spiritual adventure. That, in fact, is what the infant or adult baptismal event is all about. It is the beginning of a process that ends in receiving a rich diversity of gifts from the Holy Spirit. Of course, the failure to go this far in the spiritual pilgrimage proves to be a disappointment or irritation to anyone who thoroughly believes in Jesus Christ. The annoyance comes, as it does in any frustration, from being thwarted in expected fulfillment. Simply put, it is like being called to stop, just as you are mentally ready to make the best golf shot of your career! Or, like having some trickster grasp your arm while you are intent on a smashing tennis serve. There are people in churches who feel cheated spiritually because they have been forced to stop or have allowed themselves to drift from the full ex-

perience of their baptismal intention, which is to walk daily in close communion with the Lord through the indwelling of His Holy Spirit.

Until such time as the churches will develop a ritual for growing adults to use to signify their adult passage into a deeper life, we shall have to pay more attention to the implications and the possibilities of the baptismal rite for infants and adults. We shall need to utilize the observance of the Lord's Supper as a time of quiet rededication. Eventually, there will emerge some public recognition that the greatest religious growth comes in the adventure of the adult years by those who sense the continuity of their baptism, the corporate nature of their baptism, the commitment on their part in baptism, and the various charismatic gifts of love, patience, insight, healing and joy which come to those who walk humbly with their Savior. When that day of recognition comes, there will be a very joyful celebration in which adults can make public witness of their developed faith and give a witness to young people who have a difficult time growing in faith, as it is. Can't you imagine the secret thrill of young and old alike, who shared the joy of watching a father present his infant in arms for baptism, now observing that father or mother make a new public declaration of his or her faith at their present attained level? It would fulfill the baptismal process all the way down the line. The Sunday School teacher would feel vindicated. The town skeptic or business associate would open his eyes and even challenge him the next day. The fainthearted would be inspired. The church itself might be renewed. It may be that this is the day and the place to make that pub-

lic affirmation of faith right now, here.

If you will decide to claim your baptismal heritage in Christ, it will be because you now realize that your bless-

ings are the result of a host of people who have loved you and stood patiently with you in the long growing process, as agents of the Holy Spirit.

With Our Backs to the Grave

Sermon by BRUCE W. PORTER

Texts: "*They are like grass*" (Psalm 90:5). "*Mary Magdalene and the other Mary were sitting there facing the grave*" (TEV, Matt. 27:61). "*And they turned their backs on the tomb*" (Phillips, Luke 24:9).

It is hard to really celebrate the Sunday *after* Easter. It always seems to be a let-down. After the bumper crowds and the build-up of high emotion for the big day in the Christmas calendar, the church returns to normal. A friend of mine from Princeton Seminary used to say to his congregation on Easter (I suspect with a little sarcasm), "If you really want to see the empty tomb, then come back next week!" Whoever it was way back in Christian history who decided to name the special days of the church calendar, must have had tongue in cheek and a twinkle in his eye when he named this day "Low Sunday." At least he understood human emotions. In one of the Peanuts cartoons, Charlie Brown tells Lucy he really doesn't want life to have its "ups and downs." He wishes life to have "ups, and bigger ups and bigger ups." Except we're not built that way, are we? Emotion holds for only so long and then we're back to earth again with life moving on at a prosaic pace. It's hard to get excited the Sunday *after* Easter.

But I think precisely because this is true, it's necessary this morning to fly in the face of our emotions and to honor the Easter event with calm assurance and joy if not with emotional display. Surely we need to cheer about Easter in some continuing way which may be

A native of Pittsburgh, Pa., Bruce W. Porter is an alumnus of Muskingum College (A.B.) and of Princeton Theological Seminary (M. Div., 1959). He has served pastorates in Wellsboro, Pa., Horseheads, N.Y., and is currently the senior minister at the First Presbyterian Church, Orchard Park, N.Y.

an expression of quiet confidence and faith. Perhaps we can do this with cello and violins (as we do today) rather than trumpets and mass choirs. After all, as a fact, Easter does not really need mass crowds and pomp and circumstance. The first Easter didn't have it, you know. It came to a few faithful folks, actually several women who had gone to a tomb and a few disciples, and not to vast crowds at all. In a deep sense, perhaps that's how the event always comes!

And, of course, the reason we gather here on Sunday instead of the Jewish Sabbath, is simply because the early Church decided that Sunday, which is the day of resurrection, ought to be the day we worship. Each Sunday should be a "little Easter" if we can pull it off, and rejoice and cheer a bit. Every Sunday belongs as a kind of celebration day of the resurrection.

But most of all, I want us to fly in the face of emotions because one week is not enough to talk about life and death, of defeat versus victory, of sorrow turned to joy. There's a continuing story in this life of ours which is either fit for sighs or fit for shouts of triumph. And we've got to make our human choice every Sunday and every Monday all through the year.

So this morning, I am going to take two texts and lay them on one side and

then another for you. Both concern these women friends of Jesus, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, and both texts tell it precisely as it is for us in the 20th Century. The first scene is Good Friday and pictures these two women sitting and grieving before a borrowed tomb, just waiting to see the stone rolled up against the grave. And we read, "They were sitting there *facing* the grave." So do we all, at every committal where some priest says, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust." They sat there *facing* the grave. Then there's a second scene. It's the Easter scene. It's the reverse scene, striking in its turn-about. The women come on Sunday at dawn because women are doing something that is purely women's work, something no man would ever do. It's the oil and spice burial detail. They come and see the stone rolled away! They come and find that life isn't locked in! They come to see two dazzling strangers who tell them to quit looking for the living among the dead! And they remember that Jesus promised that death wouldn't hold him and lock him out of life. Then we read in the Phillips' translation, "And they turned their *backs* on the tomb and went and told all this to the Eleven and the others who were with them." "They sat there facing the grave." And then again, we read, "They *turned their backs* on the grave." (Weren't they running for joy?) Now isn't that always the human posture, in one way or another? Isn't that the Christian experience? Let's look at these.

First, *facing the grave*. Our age has tried everything in its vocabulary to avoid facing up to the grave. We refuse to talk about death at all in the hopes that the fact of it may go away. Some-

times we try to pass off the truth of it with humor, except that our joking is a little too loud and is sort of like a lad telling a dirty story, because it doesn't really come off. Or we pretend by calling death something else, so we do not face it. We talk of "passing on" or "sleeping." Sometimes we even "bill" death as a friend that is welcome and cheerful, except that it never quite is at the graveside, is it? This sentiment is hollow, particularly when it is the young who sleep, or when someone whom we love is just on the brink of another great adventure and is cut short. But our faith will have none of this. Far better is the honesty of the pagan who sees the grave as what it is—the ultimate enemy of everything for which we hope and dream. "It's the final enemy," says Paul. It's an enemy to us who love others. It's an enemy that cuts down life and separates us. It's an enemy that causes us to fear our own personal extinction and nothingness. It is the turnstile through which each of us must go alone.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti writes his poetry, not as a Christian, but as an honest pagan, but he writes it well. He says:

"The world is a beautiful place

Yes the world is the best place of all
for a lot of such things as
making the fun scene, and making
the love scene
and making the sad scene and singing
low songs and
having inspirations and walking
around
looking at everything and smelling
flowers . . .
and kissing people and

making babies and wearing pants
and waving hats and dancing
and going swimming in rivers
on picnics in the middle of summer
and just generally 'living it up'

Yes but then right in the middle of it
comes the smiling
mortician"

And they sat there *facing* the grave. Our faith doesn't sidestep that. There is no pretending. That's not being morbid any more than the Psalmist is when he points out quite honestly that man is like grass and he dies. He adds this positive note to our mortality. So, "teach us to number our days." As the commercial says on television, "We only go around this life once, so let's live it with gusto." I should say so! Let us number our days, and let us define what gusto really is. God help us to spend those days as we should. Let death's reality be an impetus to us so that we learn to love people and not things. Let the numbering of our days be an opportunity for us so that we do "kiss the joy as it flies by," and we love those who are close to us before they are gone. Let this be an impetus to us so that we choose worthy priorities; so that we do not "major in minors." Let us be sure that our gusto is the kind of life with a capital "L" that Jesus was talking about. Man is like grass and he dies, affirms the Psalmist. This is part of man's mortal, human situation before God, who is the only Eternal. It is certainly normal and human for us to sorrow for those whom we have lost, to be bereaved when someone for whom we care leaves us lonely. It's normal and it's human and it's Christian. It would be cruel to not prepare you for this. But only then, you see, *facing* the grave and the reality

of it and threat of it, only then, do we know what we really have at stake here on any Sunday which is a "little Easter." What we have at stake is everything. *Everything!*

Only after this truth, then, are we going to be surprised by the next scene and are we going to wait and rely on God to turn the tables. Because the spring time isn't going to do it. Lilies that bloom aren't going to do it. All of our talk about passing away won't do it. Our clichés won't pull it off. And all of our talk about our immortal constitution is something about which our faith knows nothing. It's only our God who does amazing things. It's only God who comes and gives us hope over grim death and who makes us new. It's only God who brings the dawn. Well, now I think we're ready to catch the new posture for Easter. Because, you see, we're saying God broke through death; he defanged it; he overcame its power; he took the sting out of it. Mary Magdalene and that other Mary "turned their backs on the grave" and ran for joy. What I'm trying to say this morning is this: It is possible in a very profound sense for you and me to begin living now with the terror and the power of the grave behind us. Not just for a week, but behind us forever. I repeat! It is possible for us to live with the power and threat of death behind us. Why? Because the grave couldn't hold Jesus, and it will not hold those whom we love. Because the God who creates us once in a new birth of freedom creates us once again. Because, says Jesus, there is something like a perfect home waiting for us and those whom we love. Because, says Jesus, we are loved not just for a moment or a twinkling of an eye, not for just three-score

years and ten, but eternity. We have Christ's word on it. We have Christ's resurrection event as a fact on it, even if flowers are not in bloom and it snows on Easter. God is still arriving.

In fact, we have the very existence of the Church as proof of that. We don't explain the resurrection, you and I, the resurrection explains us. That's what we're doing here. As the old doggerel verse went:

"Roses are red, violets are bluish
If it weren't for Easter,
We'd all be Jewish."

We don't explain Easter; Easter is what we're doing here a Sunday later. And here is what the shouting is all about. The Christian now ought to be able to live with the grave behind him. He's freed of panic, fear and dread and is set loose to live life daringly, if he will. We don't deny death; we say that through Christ it is defeated. We don't try to escape it, we say there is a victory over it. This theme song is not just for Easter, but really every Sunday thereafter and with every day that dawns.

You know, when I was a boy, there used to be a soap opera on the radio which had a sequel every day, and always at each broadcast, it would be introduced this way: "Here is another chapter in the continuing story of Stella Dallas." It's something like that which we celebrate. Today is another episode in the continuing story of Mr. Christian who lives with his future open and with that future full of surprises. And if we could just know the details—that is all of them—we could say, "Here is the continuing story of those whom we have lost awhile, who live on waiting

for us to join in the greatest adventure that has ever been."

So this morning, all that's left is to ask you, Are you going to live today and tomorrow as if that were true? Will you trust deep down inside of you that life is not a dead-end street, but a thoroughfare? Will we quit waking up every morning and living every day like a weeping willow? Will we finally affirm once and for all that we own no one in this life, father or mother or brother or sister, husband or wife? Will we see that these people are gifts to us for awhile and when the time comes, it's time for us to let go, trusting that they remain in the hands of God? Will you live every morning at dawn as if God were going to make you new, and is making your future open and affirmative? Will you be open to Jesus Christ not as yesterday's ideal (because he cares least about that) but as today's Lord who calls you and me and asks us to get running forward into Galilees and quit taking our spiritual temperature for a change?

I suppose what I'm saying when I talk about our backs to the grave, is really acted out by those musicians still on Basin Street down in New Orleans where the blues were born. I'm told that when one of their number dies, they walk slowly in procession to that grave. They play in that cortege the sad songs. It's the mournful beat all the way to graveside. Ah, but on the way back, they're playing those horns like crazy. They're playing "When the Saints Come Marching In." They're swinging and high stepping and they're playing it full. They're playing it all the way home. And why not? They're marching with the grave behind them!

An Intellectual's Quest for Christ

Sermon by JAMES F. BELL

A native of New Orleans, La., James F. Bell is an alumnus of Princeton University and of Harvard Law School. During World War II he served as Lt. (j.g.) on PT boats in the South Pacific. A member of the Washington (D.C.) law firm of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue, Mr. Bell is on the Advisory Council of the Chapel of Princeton University where this sermon was given on October 9, 1977.

The Story of Nicodemus

IT is always a pleasure to return to Princeton, particularly on a lovely autumn weekend. It is a double pleasure to be privileged to occupy this pulpit during the Golden Jubilee Year of this beautiful Chapel—a privilege, I must confess, I never imagined when I first sat in this place, dink in hand, thirty-seven years ago.

The title I have chosen for the thoughts I would like to share with you this morning is “An Intellectual’s Quest for Christ—The Story of Nicodemus.” One of the problems which many of us have struggled with at one point in our lives is reconciling reason—our inheritance from the Graeco-Roman tradition—with faith—our inheritance from the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is interesting to recall that melding the two was the very reason for the founding of this University. Our forefathers were anxious that those young men, future Presbyterian ministers, who had been swept up in the emotional religious revivalism brought by the famous English evangelist, George Whitefield in 1738, should also share the regard for learning common to the clergy of the time. That was why Princeton came into being. It is, therefore, a happy coincidence that some 230 years later this Chapel, a symbol of our faith in Jesus Christ, should also be immediately adjacent to

the Firestone Library, the repository of the wisdom of the ages.

Now there are many ways to approach this subject. I could share with you the thoughts of many great men of times past and present, who have wrestled with this question, with varying degrees of success. My own personal favorite is Dante, who, perhaps because of his ability to apply poetic license, came closer to melding reason and faith than anyone else I know.

Instead, however, I would like to share with you the dramatic story of the path followed by one man during the lifetime of Jesus: Nicodemus. It is not a complete story for the Gospel of John records only three instances in the life of this man, one who was an intellectual of his times—a member of the great Jewish Council, a Pharisee, and a man described by Jesus as a famous teacher of Israel.

I

The first scene, recorded in the Third Chapter of John, concerns a nocturnal visit by Nicodemus to Jesus, in which an extraordinary conversation takes place. The second occurs in the temple and is part of the unrest recorded in the days prior to the arrest of Jesus. The final scene, the most moving of all, takes place at Golgotha.

Before sharing some thoughts with you about Nicodemus, and the relevancy of his story to *this* day, and to *our* lives, it may be helpful to sketch briefly the historical and social context in which it took place. This is so because a very significant aspect of that story is an understanding of where Nicodemus came from in the interaction of his life with Jesus.

When Herod the Great died, he divided his kingdom of Palestine among his three sons. One of them, Archelaus, inherited Judea, including the City of Jerusalem. He was deposed by the Romans in A.D. 6, and replaced by governors appointed by Rome. The most famous of these, of course, was Pontius Pilate who held office from A.D. 26 to 36.

Roman emphasis was upon maintaining peace and exacting taxes. Internal Jewish affairs were left to the great Jewish Council composed of seventy-two members. That Council consisted of three groups. There were the High Priests, drawn from the sacerdotal aristocracy. They had charge of the Temple, the center of the religious and political life of Israel. A second group, laymen drawn from powerful families with impressive land holdings, largely belonged to the party of the Sadducees. The Sadducees were conservative in both religion and politics, and advocated collaboration with the Romans in view of the unsuccessful revolt by the Zealots, or nationalists, under Judas the Galilean, early in the century.

The third group in the great Jewish Council were the Jewish intellectuals, variously described as scribes or lawyers or scholars. They were the experts in Jewish Law and most of them belonged to the Pharisaic party. These

Pharisees were very devout men who sought to construe and observe Jewish Law and religious practices down to the minutest detail. Nicodemus was both a member of the Council and a Pharisee.

It was on to this scene that Jesus entered his teaching ministry around A.D. 30. To say that Jesus and Nicodemus had little in common is something of an understatement. Nicodemus was a member of the establishment. Jesus strongly attacked the establishment, describing the temple administered by the High Priests as a den of thieves, and ripping away layers of religious practices of the Pharisees down to the bare bones of love, compassion, and mercy. Nor did Jesus relate to either the collaborationist Sadducees or the revolutionary Zealots. He spoke of a kingdom not of this world.

Nicodemus was also a famous analytical scholar of the Jewish Law. Jesus was a carpenter who had surrounded himself with uneducated fishermen from the Lake of Galilee. Further, he preached no ideology, but principally told simple stories called parables.

Now just why did Nicodemus ever go to see Jesus, who occupied a social and educational status light years away? John records that it was because Nicodemus was curious about the miracles Jesus was reported to have performed and wanted to find out the source of his power. It is interesting to note, however, that Nicodemus visited Jesus at night. Perhaps he was a bit concerned about what his colleagues might think of his abandoning the scholastic halls of Jerusalem to discourse with an itinerant preacher from Galilee.

In any event, if Nicodemus had unanswered questions *before* he went to see

Jesus, the Gospel of John records he was thoroughly perplexed *after* the visit. In response to the straightforward observation from Nicodemus that God must be with Jesus in order for him to have performed his miracles, Jesus made the extraordinary statement that unless a man is born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. In response to the straightforward protestation by Nicodemus of the physiological impossibility of being born twice, Jesus expanded his statement and said that a man must be born from the spirit, and that no one knows where the spirit comes from or where it is going. Nicodemus, now frustrated, exclaimed, "How is this possible?" Jesus sarcastically responded with a question of how could anyone become such a famous teacher in Israel and still be so ignorant. Jesus then went on to develop his point and included in that dissertation the perfectly extraordinary statement that "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that everyone who has faith in him should not die but have eternal life." Thus, Jesus stated that the ultimate purpose of God was not to be devout, moral, or knowledgable, points to which Nicodemus might relate; rather it was something far more profound but precisely what that was hardly came through with impeccable clarity. No wonder Nicodemus, considering where he came from, went away exceedingly perplexed.

It is not difficult, even today, to share the perplexity of Nicodemus. Whereas the concept of being born again takes on a little more meaning when explained by St. Paul, another Pharisee turned Christian theologian, even his references to a "New Life" or "The New Humanity" are not, all by them-

selves, models of clarity. Further, the very idea that the Creator of the universe—with its billions of galaxies containing billions of stars—would invade history in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, and a relatively unimportant province of the Roman Empire 2,000 years ago, and that that event is the most important point in time, not only for human history but for us here and now, is very hard to understand or accept rationally, much less an event upon which to build lifetime goals.

Well, human history since that time has been filled with men with incredibly brilliant minds who *have* accepted that fact, and who have done so without abandoning intellect or capacity for rational analysis. The magnificent stained glass windows of this Chapel portray many of them. How did they get there?

No one, of course, can categorically answer that question. The paths to salvation are as varied as the mystery of God. But let's follow one great scholar's path and see how he did it. This brings us to the second scene involving Nicodemus as set forth in the Seventh Chapter of John.

II

In his scene the Temple police sent out to arrest Jesus had just returned without him. When asked why by the Pharisees, they responded in wonderment that no man had ever spoken like that before. The Pharisees contemptuously retorted: Have you been taken in too, like the rest of the uneducated mob out there? Look about you: Have any of the Pharisees, the scholars of Israel, believed in him? But there was one Pharisee—Nicodemus—who spoke up at that point, meeting his colleagues on

their own ground, and asked: "Does the law permit us to pass judgment on a man unless we have first given him a hearing and learned the facts?"

The important point of this second scene is that from perplexity Nicodemus had apparently moved to a position where he was honestly searching for the truth, and this led him to defend Jesus before his colleagues. This is often the second step that many of us take. From perplexity we become determined seekers. Who was Jesus? What do the Scriptures really say about him, as opposed to what other men say he said?

Any follower of Christ must respect one who has honestly sought to know Jesus but, somehow, faith has eluded him. The tragedy today, however, is that many have rejected Jesus as Lord, based upon a research program which would not muster a "D" in any freshman course in this university, or, even worse, based upon a conglomeration of factual error and omissions which would warrant a flat failure. Isn't it incredible that the one person who more than anyone else has influenced human history, is still one of the least known individuals to so many?

III

Well, where did Nicodemus' search take him? We move, then, to the final scene in the Nineteenth Chapter of John. It is at Golgotha. Jesus is hanging on a cross between two thieves, dead. Almost all of his friends have deserted him and are hiding in terror. But two men approach the cross. One of them was Joseph of Arimathea, also a member of the great Council, who had received permission from Pilate to bury Jesus in his tomb. The other was one of the distinguished teachers and scholars

of Israel—Nicodemus the Pharisee. These two men gently lowered the body of Jesus from the Cross and, it is recorded, Nicodemus brought with him myrrh and aloes for the burial in an amount and quality reserved only for a king.

There is a message here which, I respectfully submit, has a meaning for all generations. Somewhere Nicodemus had learned that the path to ultimate truth lay not in piety, or in knowledge, or even in the teaching of Jesus, as vitally important as it was, and still is. Indeed, in the Apostles' Creed—the earliest formal statement of the Christian faith—the life and teaching of Jesus are merely the comma between "born of the Virgin Mary" and "crucified under Pontius Pilate." Ultimate truth lies rather in the person of Jesus Christ and in the cross which stands over the Lord's table in this Chapel. The person of Jesus is the central point in history for all men—for you, and for me. In the cross lies the meaning of Jesus' statement that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son so that everyone who has faith in him may not die but have eternal life.

This point becomes even clearer in the opening phrases of the Apostles' Creed. We do not recite an ideology. We do not state that we believe *that* there is a God Almighty, and *that* Jesus Christ is his only Son. We state that we believe *in* God and *in* Jesus Christ. We, like Nicodemus, are committed to, have reliance upon, trust in—have faith in—a person: Jesus Christ. That faith, by definition, is an act of will to believe the promises of God as recorded in the Scriptures. Those promises are crystal clear: God loves us, and through an act in history—the life, death, and resurrec-

tion of Jesus Christ—he will forgive our egocentric alienation from him and offer us a new life—a Second Birth—if you will. And if we really hear that incredibly Good News—the Gospel—and act upon the basis of it by accepting that love, we are moved to give thanks by leading a life worthy of the Lord and by showing love and compassion to our neighbor, who is everyone.

Now, to quote from the favorite expression of a favorite minister friend of mine, if I were God, I might not have planned it that way. From the myopic standpoint of the exceedingly narrow cultural and educational influences I have known, I might have invented a more intellectually acceptable ultimate purpose in life than one which involved a crucified Jesus of Nazareth 2,000 years ago in Judea. But that is the way *God* planned it. If that ultimate purpose in life is true, if it is my *raison d'être*, if it is singly more important than anything else I know, or do, then I ignore at my peril an exploration of the claims of Jesus Christ. If I ignore these claims, I will have missed the whole point of life, and all else I know and do may be disconnected from ultimate reality. In this respect, and in a very real sense, therefore, this Chapel, what goes on here, and what it stands for, focuses upon the most important area of human endeavor: to know the reality of the Person of Jesus Christ.

IV

Now where does that leave us with the question which was raised at the beginning of these observations on the story of Nicodemus, relating to the interaction between faith and reason? The essence of the commitment of a follower of Christ is personal faith in, a per-

sonal relationship with, *him*. I would submit that there is no way that that position can be achieved rationally. Indeed, it would be intellectually impossible for that to be so because such a process would require the application of standards of judgment which would, in and of themselves, constitute a *self-determination* of ultimate truth. At the central point of our faith, therefore, stands a life-changing experience—instituted by God and accepted by us. This experience may be momentary, as with St. Paul on the road to Damascus, or, as with most of us, one which takes place within a span of time. However it comes, it is then maintained by prayer and by study of the Scriptures which is the record of God's revelation to us, all within the fellowship of believers.

It is vitally important to emphasize, however, that by becoming followers of Christ we have most certainly not abandoned our minds, or our reasoning processes, which are a gift of God. First and foremost the mind God has given us can help to guide us on the path that leads us to that life-changing experience, as Nicodemus found and as countless other searchers after the truth have found in the ensuing years. The mind God has given us can also help to explain, expand, and analyze the meaning of that experience, as is evident from the writings of Paul, Augustine, or Aquinas, or as can be found in the thousands and thousands of writings and discourses about Jesus Christ in the past 2,000 years. But at the center stands an act of faith, unprovable rationally but provable experientially. Those who have committed their lives to Christ, can testify that he is indeed the ultimate source of all joy, all vitality, and all direction in life.

Splintering the Gates of Hell

Sermon by JOHN R. GRAY

OUR society is sick. The point need not be labored. The sickness manifests itself in all sorts of ways. Inflation is one aspect, for it is a kind of secret theft. Unemployment is another. It is wicked when men and women find it impossible to find work or find it unprofitable to accept work when offered. Alcoholism is another. The number of days lost through excessive drinking exceeds the time lost by strikes and stoppages. According to Sir Bernard Braine, there may be as many as half a million alcoholics in Britain. In Scotland, according to Dr. A. B. Sclare, a consultant psychiatrist, we spent £350 million on alcohol last year—as much as we spent on Primary and Secondary Education combined. Dr. Sclare also said that the number of persons admitted to Scottish hospitals as a result of alcoholism had doubled since the mid-sixties. Councilor Long of Glasgow said recently that drink was the root cause of most broken homes, battered wives, rent arrears and road accidents. He went on, “We have 4,000 children in residential care and 3,000 in foster homes as a result of drink-related problems. This costs us £11 million per year.” *Britain 1977*, an official handbook issued by Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, was fairly accurately summed up by one newspaper in the headline, “Bingo, Booze and the Box for Mr. and Mrs. Average Britain.”

Since 1966, the Reverend John R. Gray has been minister at Dunblane Cathedral, Scotland. An alumnus of Glasgow and Yale, Mr. Gray studied also at Princeton Theological Seminary (Th.M., 1939). From 1941-46 he served as Chaplain in the Royal Navy and has been sometime lecturer at Trinity College, Glasgow. In May 1977 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. This address was delivered before the Assembly on June 1, 1977.

Another symptom of the sickness of our society—the increase in crime—is quite certainly connected with the amount of alcohol being consumed. Mrs. Nancy Ballantyne, Chairman of the Strathclyde Police Committee, estimates that 95 per cent of crimes are caused by over-indulgence in alcohol. Mr. Merlyn Rees told the House of Commons that in the last ten years serious offenses have risen from 1.2 million to 2.1 million. In 1955 one person was convicted of murder in Scotland. In 1975 the total was 37. In the same period convictions for attempted murder have gone up from 2 to 31, convictions for crimes of violence from 374 to 1,000.

Pornography and obscenity are epidemic. As someone has said, “Britain badly needs to have its dirty face washed.” The increase in the number of abortions is appalling. One million babies in embryo have been destroyed in Britain since the passing of the 1967 Act. It is a dreadful reflection that you have much more protection if you are struggling to enter this world as an osprey or an eagle than as a human being. It is a criminal offense to destroy the eggs of the osprey or the eagle. Hundreds of human embryos are destroyed every day with the full approval of the law. Statistics of vandalism, shoplifting, juvenile delinquency are all

alarming. The number of divorces with all the attendant misery for children increases every year. There is no need to extend the dreary list of symptoms. The great question is: What are we to do about the disease? Where do we begin?

Who Is to Blame?

In the Department of Trade there are United Kingdom primary standards, on which are based all our measurements of length and weight. If throughout the country weights and measures began to be found in error, with a pound of sugar weighing less than 16 ounces and a yard of material measuring less than 36 inches, one would at once suspect that someone had tampered with the primary standards. So widespread is the present dilapidation of morals in our country, so general the loss of integrity in public and private life, that one is driven to the conclusion that those whose duty it is to guard our moral standards have failed to do so. Who are, or are supposed to be, the guardians of moral standards? We are. It seems to me to be beyond dispute, therefore, that the blame for the present state of the nation is ours and ours alone. It is we who have failed in our duty.

Our fathers committed to our guardianship and our fellows have entrusted to our care the unchanging moral standards laid down in the Ten Commandments and in the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. Instead of maintaining and defending them, we have allowed them to be tampered with and eroded by talk of situational ethics and the like. It is impossible to base morality, public or private, on the relativities and probabilities of mere human judg-

ments. The only way in which moral standards ever have been or ever will be maintained is by basing them on the unchanging Holy Will of the God of Righteousness. "Ye shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am Holy." "Just balances, just weights shall ye have, I am the Lord." "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect." "How shall we get morality?," asked Napoleon, and answered his own question, "There is only one way—to re-establish religion." Faith in God is the only final sanction of morality. The cause of moral decline is the decay of faith, and for the decay in faith we are to blame. No improvement can be looked for until we admit that this is so. Judgment must begin—here—at the House of God. The well-springs must be cleared before there is hope of a supply of unpolluted water for the land. New purity of our society will only come when the people have been brought to a new simplicity of faith. But we must begin by saying, "We have sinned."

As we look at the state of the nation we need not rail at economists, educationists, politicians, broadcasters and the like. They are reflecting the attitudes of a large vocal minority, even if not yet of society as a whole. Instead of blaming others for the deplorable state of the nation we must admit our own failure. It is our fault, our own fault, our own most grievous fault. As Solomon's Song sadly reflects, "They made me the keeper of the vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept." It is the grossest effrontery on our part to try and set the nation and the world to rights before making a real effort to set ourselves to rights. There may not be a beam in the eyes of the Church,

but there is something obscuring our vision. Until that is dealt with we shall not be able to see clearly to deal with the motes in the eyes of the world. The need of the world is manifest. The adequacy of the Grace of God is beyond peradventure. The Church—you and I—should be the channel between that abundant Grace and that utter need. But the channel is blocked. We have failed and, since it is we who have failed, it is with us that the long process of cure must begin.

So Let Us Repent

Perhaps, indeed, one of the greatest services we in the Church could render would be to set an example of humility by honestly admitting the mistakes we have made. It is the same self-righteousness which is a shame to the Church which sours the relationships between countries and between groups within our own country. Listen to the East about the West or the West about the East, the Conservative Party about the Government or the Government about the Conservative Party. They all refuse to confess to any mistake or defect in themselves or to admit to any success or virtue in those whom they oppose. The log-jam of suspicion and pride and mutual recrimination must somehow be broken. We in the Church must show the way. What mistakes has the Church made in the recent past? Two occur to me, for I have made both of them myself.

Our Two Mistakes

First, the Church has often become so immersed in the world, so intent on applying the Gospel to social and political problems, that it has lost hold of the Gospel it was trying to apply. I

have in this Assembly presented reports and argued cases, sometimes wisely, sometimes not so wisely, but without in some cases making any real attempt to bring the perspective of the Gospel to bear upon the matter in hand. In some cases no great moral or spiritual principles were involved. The questions were technical or economic. But, at any rate, to fail to relate the Gospel to the problems we discuss is to put ourselves automatically out of order, to make ourselves helpless to meet the need of the world. The trouble with the social gospel was that it had no Gospel. When someone is drowning, the worst possible thing to do is to jump into the water beside him. Throw a life-belt, hold out a stick or form a human chain, but adopt some expedient whereby you yourself keep a firm hold on safety. Otherwise, you do the drowning man no good and yourself no little harm. This in so many cases is what we in the Church have done. Without thought we have jumped into the whirling flood, sure of our nobility and courage, making a great splash and accomplishing nothing except to let the drowning world pull us into the same danger as it is in itself.

O strengthen me that, while I stand
Firm on the rock and strong in
Thee,

I may stretch out a loving hand
To wrestlers with the troubled sea.

But we must make sure that we are standing firm on the rock. There is a frequent cry for the Church to speak out. We must resist the temptation unless we have something to say, something relevant and something informed, and something which we have a right to say as Churchmen.

The second mistake which the Church has made is in precisely the opposite direction. Withdrawing from any entanglement in politics or economics it has become totally immersed in its own affairs, in the strengthening of its own inner life. When I went to Dunblane Cathedral I decided that, having spent so much time on Committees, I would try to redress the balance by giving my whole time and energy to preaching and pastoral work. It has been a most satisfying eleven years. Some ministers have followed this line all their lives. Let it be admitted that in many cases the parishes—or, rather, congregations—in which they have served have prospered. Let it be admitted, moreover, that, to put it no higher, it is from these congregations, whose ministers hardly know their way to the Church Offices, that much of the money comes to maintain these same offices and the work of the Church at home and abroad. There is no doubt that some men are such excellent pastors that they may be excused if they sit somewhat lightly to their duties in the Courts of the Church. But the Church cannot finally be concerned only with its own internal life. To withdraw from the world into a religious ghetto can never be right. God made the *world*. Christ came into the *world* that the *world* through Him might be saved. God was in Christ, reconciling the *world* unto Himself. Christ's command to His disciples was not to go to all the Churches but to go into all the *world*.

The Church's Primary Task

The twin mistakes of being immersed in the world and being immersed in the Church must both be avoided. We must on the one hand resist the temptation

to become part of the Crowd and on the other to retreat to the Cloister. Neither the Crowd nor the Cloister is the answer. The answer is the Cross—to live in the world by the standards of Christ, to embrace the unchanging Gospel, and with that Gospel to advance upon the world. But if we are to make that advance, if we are to fulfill once again our rôle of being the guardians of the nation's morality, we must establish a firm base from which to operate. We must reform our own life. *Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*. Indeed, it is certain that we shall be little heeded by the nation and the world unless we speak from the heart of a vital and vigorous Church life. Our hope of exercising any real leadership in the nation and in the world is dependent on our giving ourselves to our primary task of evangelism at home and overseas and to the upbuilding in the faith of those who have been evangelised. The last two verses of Matthew's Gospel sufficiently define our task: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." As we do, Christ will fulfill his promise, "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Curiously, as we confine ourselves to this obedience, we shall find ourselves most able to influence events. How could it be otherwise, if Christ is with us?

When I was in Poland last year it was perfectly plain that Cardinal Wyszyński was the real leader of the people. When he spoke the Communist leaders listened with attention. When rioting workers were imprisoned he said they must be released—and they were re-

leased. Why the Cardinal is so influential became evident when I attended a Service at which he was preaching. There was standing room only in church, with hundreds gathered at the open doors. The same is true throughout Poland. The Cardinal speaks—and the Government knows that he speaks—for the great mass of the Polish people. It is this which makes certain that his voice will be listened to by a Government, the members of which are atheists almost to a man. So in our own country. The General Assembly's resolutions will receive scant attention unless it is believed by those to whom they are directed that the Assembly speaks for the majority of the people of Scotland. The same is true of ecumenical bodies. The only thing which gives the pronouncements of the World Council of Churches or the British Council of Churches credibility is not some authority inherent in those bodies but the assumption, which may be true or false, that they speak for the millions of people in their constituent Churches.

It is therefore all the more peculiar that so many so-called Church leaders who live lives far removed from the day-to-day work of the parishes sometimes show little regard for that work. They seem often to be intent on cutting away the very ground on which they stand. They rejoice at the drop in the number of members of the Church. "We must have a leaner, more athletic Church," they say. Well, fatness is not attractive and the need for the Church to be trained and healthy has never been greater. But the talk about a leaner, more athletic Church can often be used as an excuse by those too indolent to give themselves to the hard work of evangelism or pastoral care. There is no

place in the Gospel for a cold indifference to the fate of those never reached by its sound or thereafter lost to its influence. "Go ye into all the world," said Christ, "and make disciples of every nation." "Of these that you have given me, I have lost not one."

The Lost—Our Shame

That text should give us all furiously to think. Each year each congregation in Scotland loses on the average about 10 members, not by death or disjunction but by default. I wonder if it would not be a most worth-while exercise to take some men off the computing of statistics and ask them instead to go out into some of our parishes and actually interview those who have lapsed and discover why. Certainly, instead of "scoring off" those who have ceased to show interest in the work of the Church, they should become the objects of the most intense and affectionate pastoral care. Once they professed their faith. What has happened to make them fall away? If we knew the answer to that we might be in a position to do more about it. Each soul brought into the company of Christ's followers should be a delight and a joy; each member lost a grief and a shame to us all—and that not for the sake of filling the pews, nor so that the Mission and Service contributions may be paid, but so that no soul may be lost which could have been saved and for the more effective witness of the Church. There is no doubt that the Church will be listened to—given space and time on the mass media, for example—and heeded by politicians, not because of the brilliance of its leaders, but only if it can point to local congregations strong and alive.

Two Atheist Witnesses

Some years ago, I visited a Scandinavian country. There were fine churches maintained by the State in splendid order, but nobody worshipping in them. I commented on this to a left-wing Cabinet Minister who said, "I know. And one day we shall waken up and say, 'These things are an anarchonism. Let's spend no more money on them. Nobody wants them.'" Later I visited Communist East Germany, and was astonished to find every evidence of organized Church life. In Warnemunde I attended a Service in the Cathedral where there was not a seat to be had. I commented on this when I met Herr Sagewasser, the Cabinet Minister in charge of Religious Affairs, himself an atheist. "I know," he said, "I think the whole thing is superstition. But as long as the people want to worship God, this Government, any Government, is bound to provide the means." Both Cabinet Ministers in almost identical words were voicing their conviction that what counted with them were the numbers of people in the pews of ordinary parish churches, Sunday by Sunday. The future of the Church, under God, does not depend on the pontifications of Assemblies or of Moderators, nor on the occasional "big" Service. It depends on faithful preaching, faithful worship, faithful service in churches throughout the land throughout the year.

Lord Home in his autobiography, *The Way the Wind Blows*, tells how, he asked Harold Macmillan if he could put his finger on the point in time when the slide in values in Britain began to set in. His answer came without hesitation, "The day when people stopped going to Church regularly on a Sunday morning." I think that that is true and

that the dawn of a moral and spiritual renaissance in Britain will commence with the return of our people to the public worship of God on Sunday mornings. The sooner we bend our minds and wills and hearts to bringing that about the better.

Double Time for Monday

Can anything be done administratively to hasten the return of our people to regular worship? I have one simple, practical suggestion to make which might help—Double Time for Mondays. The practice of paying double the hourly rates for work on Sundays was introduced to prevent industrial workers' Sundays being filched from them by ruthless employers. But the situation has so changed that the measure which was meant to protect Sunday bids fair to do the very opposite. Every minister has heard men saying, "I would come to Church, but I've got to work every Sunday to make a wage." Whether that is always true or not, it is true that the temptation to earn double rates has meant far more Sunday work than there need be. On the very day when the children are at home and free, when wives may also be at leisure, the man of the house works his longest hours. By switching double time from Sunday to Monday, Church would become a possibility again for many and at least one family day would be preserved. The employer would have no more to pay; the workman would receive no less. It is a simple suggestion, but I am sure that it would help to strengthen the family as a unit, give fathers a chance of sharing in the leisure time of their children and so cut down juvenile delinquency and crime, reduce the number of broken marriages and recreate

the possibility at least of the Family Pew. Certainly, the greatest service we can perform for our nation and for the world is to invite such of our people as have fallen away to return to the regular worship of God, to Bible reading and private prayer, to faithful and devout participation in the Lord's Supper. Assuming a wide-spread return to the Church and to its worship and assuming a re-establishment of the Church on the firm basis of the Word and Will of God, what service can the Church render?

Our Reasonable Service

The first great service which the Church is called on to perform for the world in every age is the provision of a steady stream of honest and dedicated Christian men and women. That service the Church is, of course, in a measure and degree performing, but more, many more, men and women are needed who, along with specialised knowledge, will bring standards of values set by Christ to their daily work in trade and profession, in politics and local government.

Secondly, without encroaching on matters purely technical, industrial or political, the Church as a corporate body should be ready to speak to the world, to the nation and to both sides of industry on a wide range of subjects in which moral and spiritual considerations chiefly arise and in which she has a special competence—for example, aid to underdeveloped countries, marriage and the family, human rights, the use and abuse of drugs, religious education, pornography, euthanasia and other questions of medical ethics. About some of these and other topics there will be dispute as to the Church's right to

speak, but so long as we try in each case to show clearly the relevance of the Gospel, we shall be listened to with respect. When we forget the Gospel, from the perspective of which alone we have a right to speak, and go on to offer merely human opinion, we shall quite rightly be ignored.

There is, however, an almost universal—and quite humbling—readiness to listen to the Church when it deals with matters within its competence and tries to perform its distinctive task. There is, in fact, a widespread longing for faith—witness the Jesus Movement, the extraordinary success of various modern translations of the Bible, the terrific interest taken in any film, rock opera or TV series which treats of Christ, and many other symptoms of soul-hunger. There is a great hole in the heart of the world, and though all the drugs and drink, all the money and amusement on earth are poured into that hole, they will disappear without a trace. For the hole in the heart of the world can be filled by God alone. "Give me of Thyself," said Augustine, "without which, though Thou shouldest give me all else that ever Thou hadst made, yet can I not be satisfied."

The Time is Now

The time is ripe for us to advance. We have been giving ground for long enough. We must retreat no further. We must not only make a stand. We must advance. "Speak to my people," God said to Joshua, "that they go forward." That is the only direction for the Church of Jesus Christ to take—*forward*. And the time to move in that direction is now. I remember a Glasgow doctor telling me of his own experience when suffering from T.B. For a long

time he was aware of losing ground to the disease. Then one day he quite suddenly felt that his illness had stopped advancing. At that point he made a mighty effort and from that moment began to improve. We have, I believe, come to that time in our sick society and our ailing Church. In illnesses doctors used to watch for the crisis. I think we have reached that stage in the illness of the body politic—the moment of crisis, literally of crisis. In time to come, we shall look back to this Silver Jubilee year as the year when our nation “got the turn.” I certainly have no intention of being the herald of the dissolution of the Kirk, nor do I expect to preside over its continuing decay.

Are We Fit for the Task?

Are we able to take advantage of the opportunity which the times afford or have we lost so much ground that, to change the metaphor, we no longer have a sufficient base from which to launch our counter-attack? That, I believe, is nonsense. The heart of this people—I mean the people of Great Britain, but especially the people of Scotland—is sound. British humanists have a great capacity for making a noise, but their membership throughout Great Britain (about 3,000) is not much greater than some of our larger congregations. We have over a million adult members in the Church of Scotland and a great number of others—brothers, sisters, wives and husbands—who think they are members. More than half the adult population think of themselves as belonging to the Church of Scotland. And there is a great *Occult* Church—people who never miss Late Call, Scotspraise, Stars on Sunday, Thought for the Day, or whatever, who would be furious if

anybody said they were not Christians, but who are never or rarely inside a church. Ask almost any of these if they would like to see the Church abolished and they would be horrified. Nor have we any reason to be despondent about the leaders of the local churches. Ministers are, for the most part, learned, faithful, devout. Their wives constitute the finest group of women the world contains. The Manse has been and is a vast enrichment of the life of every parish, a source of much strength in the life of the nation. When, too, one thinks of the splendid army of elders, 50,000 of them—farmers and fishermen, bankers and bakers, learned people and simple—one cannot help but be amazed that we are so craven-hearted and downcast. Moreover, though we may deplore poor attendances, the fact is that congregations have stood up better to the impact of Radio and TV than any other institution. Cinemas have crumbled. Theatres have disappeared. The Public Meeting is dead. An audience for a lecture, even by someone quite distinguished, cannot often be obtained.

Some time ago, at a wedding, a Glasgow MP rose to speak. He said, “I’ve been asked to propose the toast of the bridesmaid, but first I shall give you a short speech on the Rent Act. For,” said he, “I’ve turned up all ready for so many meetings and there’s never been an audience.” When he sat down, he confessed, somewhat ruefully, that when MPs foregather at Westminster on a Tuesday morning only the boastful claim to have had more than a dozen at their meetings—and that includes wives, reporters and old men coming in out of the cold. Compared with other organisations, the Church has a pretty solid base from which to operate. We

have in this Assembly at this moment a force easily sufficient to revolutionise the life of Scotland and, through Scotland, of the world.

Splintering the Gates of Hell

But we have a much sounder base than that. We have the Word of Christ that "the gates of hell shall not prevail" against the Church. It is a text which is often misunderstood. It is often seen as depicting an embattled Church with a siege mentality, resisting desperately the attacks of hell. That is not what the text says. On the contrary, the real picture is of the forces of hell trembling behind gates—gates which are quivering and splintering before the attack of the legions of Christ.

With shame for our past faintheartedness let us launch that attack, nothing doubting. Claiming Christ's promise, let us go out conquering and to conquer, not for the Church's sake, but for the world's sake. The throne of the world is vacant. It is Christ's by right. We must claim it for him. That is sheer simplistic triumphalism. But what is fundamentally more simple than the Gospel? Who should be more triumphal than the disciples of the Risen Christ—the Triumphant Conqueror of man's last enemy, grim death itself? Let us be done with a faith of which we are half ashamed. Let us stop going to the world with a look as if to say, "I hope I don't intrude." We ought to be intruding. We must intrude. Christ was an intruder. The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Was not that the mightiest intrusion there could be? We must not apologise for Christ, nor argue for Christ, but proclaim him. We must say, "This is the Way. Walk ye in it." Of course, Christ was meek and lowly of

heart, but there was a note of authority whenever he spoke. "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." "No man cometh to the Father but by Me." "I and the Father are one." "I am come that ye may have life." "Without Me ye can do nothing."

We must be courteous in our missionary approach at home and abroad, but we must not sound the trumpet uncertainly, else who shall prepare himself to battle? We must declare that Christ is *the* Way of Salvation for men and for nations—and the only Way. And that we must declare, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear to hear. And this declaration cannot be made by the so-called leaders of the Church alone. It must be made in every parish. Every Sunday Service should be a great occasion, to be approached with eagerness and expectancy. Whether a handful or hundreds gather to listen, it *is* a great occasion, for the people are hungry for a Word from the Lord—and that Word has been given to his ministers to proclaim and to his people to live. We shall not readily be forgiven if we fail to rise to the expectations which they have of us.

The question which the people of this country and the question which the peoples of the world are asking is the question which has always been asked of the Church. "Is there any word from the Lord?" People don't want good advice. They don't want a rehash of the first leader in *The Guardian*. They don't want appeals for money or homilies on the nature of worship. All they want and what they have a right to demand from us is a word from the Lord. We have been given that Word in its fulness in Jesus Christ. That is the only Word we have the right to speak. With cour-

age, with sincerity and with humility, we must speak it forth with a clarity which cannot be doubted and an assurance which cannot be gainsaid.

In some ways we are like a well-laid fire—paper, sticks and coal, all set neatly and correctly. What we need is a touch of flame and the blaze will astonish the world. That Flame came once and set

the hearts of men alight. Throughout the history of the Church, the Flame has come again and again. We cannot procure nor compel nor deserve it. But we can pray for it, expect it and be ready to receive it. *And it will surely come.*

Come, Spirit of the Living God. Come, Lord Jesus. Come, Creator Spirit. Quickly come. Amen.

Secular or Christian Humanism

Sermon by ERNEST GORDON

DURING recent weeks we have been reflecting on John 3:16 as a model of the Gospel. It is the moment of truth in the dialogue between Nicodemus and Jesus. In many ways it is similar to the dialogue which ought to be taking place between Christian and secular humanists. Both believe in human beings. Both claim to emphasize human dignity, human values, human interests, and human knowledge. But both disagree about the source and character of these mutually supported values.

While the Christian may think that the secular, evolutionary, or scientific humanist is just someone who has chosen the fruits of the Christian faith while rejecting the faith itself, the humanist thinks otherwise. Such a simplistic classification would be regarded by him as outmoded. The humanist is convinced that he or she lives in a different world view and plays in an entirely different ball game.

Rather than become involved in a theoretical debate with a humanist, it is better, first of all, to respect what the humanist is trying to say.

The first thing required of Christians is *honesty*. We gain nothing by being overly subtle, and inferring that there is no difference between us except our language style. I do not think that anyone is ever convinced by an argument

Since 1955, the Reverend Ernest Gordon has been Dean of the Chapel at Princeton University. A native of Greenock, Scotland, Dr. Gordon is an alumnus of St. Andrews University and Hartford Theological Seminary. He is the author of six books, including the best seller, Through the Valley of the Kwai (Harper's). The recipient of many honorary degrees, Dean Gordon was recognized by St. Andrews at its July 1976 Convocation. This sermon was delivered on September 25, 1977, in the Chapel of Princeton University.

that goes no further than her or his own doubts. Our Yes is to be Yes, and our No, No.

Jesus in his dialogues ranges from a very sensitive gentleness to a very stern challenge. He doesn't try to fool anyone. He brings us to the point, and addresses us with the authority of truth. He leads us from the vagueness of common sophistries to the clarity of personal involvement. Thus to be honest with others we are obliged to live our Yes's and our No's.

The times are calling us to such honesty. The Church was never founded as a rubber stamp of the *status quo*. We are expected to be fools for Christ's sake. This does not mean being stupid. It simply means being honest to God rather than honest to the predicates of the secular pundits.

As we stand honestly in our faith confronting secular humanism, we have to confess that we have much to learn. Many humanists have set us a moral example. They have participated in movements for the emancipation and wellbeing of people while Christians slept. We are brought to repentance by the knowledge that we have lagged too often in our moral concerns. We've played it safe. We've not rocked the boat, and failed to recognize that the boat was sinking.

There's much of which to repent! If we are servants, as we so often pray we might be, we are unprofitable ones. We know, but what we know we don't do!

A.

What is called humanism today is a faith as old as history. It is faith in human perfectability and the ability of the few to manufacture the just and orderly society in strictly one dimensional terms. When you read the Old Testament, you find that the thinkers and prophets among the Israelites took a dim view of such presumptions.

Although it is as old as society, a popular presumption is that it was invented at the Renaissance, whenever you choose to date it.

According to some historical distortions, humanity was in darkness until the 16th Century. Then the life and the light repressed and dimmed by Christianity were set free. Since then we've gone steadily forward and upward through the age of Reason, to the age of Technology, and thus to the utilitarian Brave New World of the 20th Century when humanity has come of age, and so shocked God that he has most conveniently died. Instead of the heavens declaring the glory of God, they are now filled with sputniks spying on fellow humanists.

This, I know, is a cheap view of secular humanism: the kind advocated in the bulk of the mass media.

The thinking humanist rejects such glib optimism. Instead he or she is aware of the agony and tragedy of fellow human beings in godless existence. Cast into its prison house of freedom, we have to manufacture our own meaning. This is a lonely and exhausting business, for there isn't all that much to

work on *in* ourselves. It takes good health, a good bank balance, a good job, and a good wife for most humanists to maintain a degree of optimism. One of those happy few was Julian Huxley who stated in his *Religion Without Revelation* that he had a sense of spiritual relief when he rejected the possibility of God.

Bertrand Russell, by the way, criticized that book of Huxley by saying that it took more faith to accept Huxley's optimistic conclusion about the happy end for mankind on the evolutionary scale than it did to accept the Christian faith.

Bertrand Russell had already declared his own position in *A Free Man's Worship* when he wrote that what we value as the spiritual and personal life is nothing "but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms." Therefore, "Man's achievements must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins. . . . Only within the scaffolding of these truths, only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair, can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built." This obvious note of despair tends to outweigh his optimistic conclusion that we and our ideals may find a home in a purposeless universe. This despairing optimism is shared by Sartre and by the Nobel prize winning French biologist, Jacques Monod.

It was one of our own faculty in the Department of Philosophy, Professor Walter T. Stace, who wrote of the reality of secular despair in his *Atlantic Monthly* article of 1951, *Man Against Darkness*, in which he pointed out that the ruin of moral principles and all values went "along with the ruin of the religious vision." He concluded, "It would therefore look as if the early

death of our civilization were inevitable."

I think Professor Stace was wrong in believing that science provides the only means of interpreting reality, but I think he's right in his prophecy about the death of our civilization. It is happening. Even if it does, there will still be men and women of faith.

The consciousness of our civilization is being saturated with the agony of secular humanism. There is little point in reinforcing this agony by fulminating against it. We have to be concerned and sympathetic to those who are locked into such a faith. What we are required to do is to live our faith. I see no reason, however, why I should abandon the Christian faith on the basis of the secular faith with its limited evidence.

Secular humanism may claim to affirm man, but it ends up by denying him.

B.

Christian humanism is not based on such despair but on the evidence of God's revelation: that revelation which is centered upon and in the man, Jesus, who is for all people. This revelation we know as the Gospel, and as the source of Christian humanism.

As Christians in the world we cannot confine reality to the arguments of the secularists or to their techniques and methods. We are not the observers of the game, as Kierkegaard has reminded us. *We are in the game.* We are in the existence we did not create, and in a destiny that is not of our manufacturing.

In 1855, *Punch*, the British magazine of wit, asked the question, "What is Matter?" and answered, "Never Mind." It then asked, "What is Mind?" and

answered, "No matter." That "No matter" is still apt. We don't know, even if we think we do.

The Gnostics were those who claimed to have secret knowledge of God and his cosmos. We, as Christians, don't make such a claim. We are agnostics. We don't know the measurements of ourselves, far less God and his cosmos. Read the 38th Chapter of Job: That states our position! In other words, as the New York musical tells us, "Your arm is too short to box with God."

The Christian faith accepts evidence that goes beyond sensory perception and conceptualization. Such faith does not stifle thought. It inspires it by giving it something to think about. That is why it was the source of Western Civilization.

Perhaps secular humanism tempts us in the same way that Jesus was tempted in the wasteland. Splendid temptations by the way! Good, because they are about human existence and ultimate values. How may we do the good? Are we to do it economically by giving the hungry bread without relating them to the source of life? This question was answered well by Dostoevski's legend of the Grand Inquisitor. He is the model of all benevolent tyrannies who give people things in exchange for their souls. It is tempting. But what is the difference between well fed pigs and well fed people without minds? Feeding our hungry brothers and sisters is the obvious obligation of being a Christian, but that is quite different from the master plans of master planners who equate people with rats.

The secular humanists have demonstrated what the Bible has been telling us: without the word of God in our lives we are no-thing, non-human.

Nothing more than garbage.

The Gospel tells us that it is God who calls us to life and freedom. We who are dust and flesh are exalted by God. He calls us by name to be his kinsfolk!

Are we to ease the boredom of existence by sauna, drug induced ecstasies, sexual orgasms, and political fantasies? Are we to escape into the shadows of illusion? This is the Second Temptation to which Jesus says, "Don't fool around with God." How easy it is these days to find gurus who will lead you into the shades of ecstasy for a reasonable fee!

Are we to rule, or dominate others? Kindly, and benevolently, of course! This is the Third Temptation.

Alan Paton gave us a grim picture of this temptation last Monday when he spoke of *apartheid* as the logical, rational, utopian fantasy of the Afrikaners, and alas, their church.

C.

It is a big temptation, particularly for you who are being so well educated. Who needs God when we have the experts?

My answer to that is: the people. They need him more than ever!

Or who needs God when we have technocracy? The Nazis said that among others. And we won't learn from them will we? Albert Speer, Hitler's top technocrat, told us that what he had to fear was not the madness of the Nazi leaders, but the domination of the world by technocracy.

Emerson said the same thing a hundred years earlier, "Things are in the saddle, and ride mankind." A statement that spells out the pride of technocrats is the following one made by Dr. Kernl

in 1937 as the Nazi official in charge of church and state relations: "True Christianity is represented by the party, and the German people, and the German people are now called by the party and especially by the Fuehrer to a real Christianity. . . . The Fuehrer is the herald of a new revelation." "Party" and "the Fuehrer" are simply synonyms for any group or party, and their leader, committed to the improvement of the world at the cost of people's souls.

I have been so corrupted by experiences and the events of history that I am compelled to say that secular humanism inevitably manifests itself in the superman as it is expressed in the Fuehrer, the guru, the system, the process, the intellectual.

That is why secular humanism destroys human dignity with the same breath that it avows it. And that is why secular and Christian humanism are poles apart.

As a Christian, I don't know the measurements of the cosmos, of the mind, of meaning, of morality, of the individual human being. I cannot know by means of human reason and the positive sciences alone the frontiers of reality. But by faith in Jesus as Lord I have been given something to think of; something that has to do with myself, and my neighbors, and my neighborhoods. I am left not in despair, but in hope, to affirm the mystery of creation, and the glory of human existence. And I know that whatever happens, it is still God's cosmos, and that the future is mine, because it is his.

Having been given so much, I am humbled by how much is expected of me. The cosmos is given to me in love, and my neighbor is given to me that I may know love, by loving. And I need

not ask, "Who is my neighbor?" For Jesus has shown me, by being neighbor to all people. He is the man for others. The man who exalts anyone and everyone.

We are all humanists, but there are a few who follow Jesus as Lord. That makes them Christian humanists. And I'll agree, the step from humanism to Christian humanism is a big one. It takes a leap of faith; faith that steps forward, rather than a faith that lags

behind in the safety of the rational society and the security of the bottom line.

The 8th Psalm asks the question: what is man that thou art mindful of him? That question is answered in the Second Chapter of Hebrews: "It was fitting that Jesus . . . in bringing many folk to glory . . . is proud to call them his brethren."

Because he shares in our suffering, we share in his glory.

The World Inside Out

by SAMUEL H. MOFFETT

A member and a descendant of a family of Christian missionaries, the Reverend Samuel H. Moffett is currently Professor of Church History and Theology at the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in Seoul, Korea. An alumnus of Wheaton College and Princeton Theological Seminary (1942), he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Yale University, before going to China as a missionary in 1947. He is the author of two books: Where'er the Sun (1953) and The Christians of Korea (1962). This address was given on Alumni Day at Princeton Theological Seminary, May 31, 1977.

I'M not sure that "The World Inside Out" is quite how I should have phrased my subject. Wouldn't it be more biblical to say "The World Upside Down?" Then I could begin with Acts: "These that have turned the world upside down are come here also," as the Thessalonians said when the Christians fell upon them preaching. And wouldn't "The World Upside Down" be more relevant? The charge the Thessalonians hurled against those Christians was that they were not obeying Caesar, and that has a contemporary ring to it, doesn't it, in these days of struggle for human rights. But I think I will stand my ground with "The World Inside Out," not "upside down." If it fails to catch the spirit of the age, I can at least console myself with a remark of Dean Inge: "The man who marries the spirit of the age soon finds himself a widower."

"Inside out" and "upside down" suggest two different patterns of Christian approach to the world. "Upside down" is more radical, often violent, and confrontational in an adversary relationship. "Inside out" is more subtle, pervasive, and closer perhaps to reform than revolution, though that particular

distinction is more popular than precise. "Upside down" seems to have a proof text on its side, and the right revolutionary aura about it, but "inside out," I think, is better.

I. Not Upside Down

In the first place, the times have changed and "upside down" is already becoming a widower. Back in the wild sixties we were much taken with the idea of the Christian mission as a turning of the world upside down. We interpreted it as putting things radically right in a world that had put them radically wrong. We were going to drive the money-changers out of the temple, clap the oppressors in jail, and squeeze a fair deal for the poor out of the system even if it meant blowing up the system. We read the early history of the church as just that kind of a revolution, which boiled to a glorious climax when it captured the throne of the Caesars. Church against empire; and the Christians won!

I still believe that putting things right is a Christian responsibility. God's salvation is a salvation to righteousness and justice in this life as well as the next, and I would be saddened if I

thought we had lost our commitment to these goals. But we are re-thinking our methods. Now in the milder seventies even the radicals, looking back, have their doubts about upside-down revolution. Sol Alinsky's current *Manual for Radicals* tells his disciples to cool down and stop shouting about burning the system. "You have to begin from inside the system," he tells them. "Revolution without a foundation of prior reform and popular acceptance is doomed to fail." And he quotes with approval from old John Adams in a revolution that succeeded better than most, "The revolution was effected before the war commenced. . . . The revolution was in the hearts and minds of the people." That's inside out, not upside down.

In the second place, "inside out" is more biblical. "Turning the world upside down" was how their *enemies* described the Christians' mission. The Christians themselves didn't think of it that way at all. They were not that kind of revolutionist, not even that kind of liberator. When they thought things were wrong they said so, but they leaned over backwards trying insofar as they conscientiously could to obey Caesar, not defy him.

I cannot take very seriously the enthusiastic revisionists who read their own pre-fabricated Marxist versions of history into the gospels: Jesus the great revolutionist. Even the much more appealing theology of liberation leaves me uneasy (as do all one-note theologies) when it moves beyond the safety of the truth that God wants all men to be free to political and economic conclusions about the nature of man's freedom under God, and then goes on to advocate power strategies to achieve such freedoms. A great deal of it makes Christian

sense. But didn't Jesus resist the temptation to seize that kind of power? The temptation of the devil, the gospels call it. And didn't he say, "My kingdom is not of this world"? It's a sticky problem and always has been to know just where He drew the line between His "kingdom" and "this world," but the Christian does have to draw just such a line or he will end up with the mobs, not the Church; with Barabbas the Liberator, rather than with Jesus Christ the Suffering Servant.

Admittedly, the world usually does need a good shaking, but turning it upside down may not be the best Christian answer. If all you do is turn the world upside down, power from the bottom corrupts as surely as power at the top. In a few years it's as if the world hadn't been turned upside down at all. Nothing is so tragic as a revolution that fails; and so disappointing as one that succeeds.

I've lived most of my life in the revolution zone. About every ten years I've had a new revolution thrown at me. I was born only a few hundred miles from the Russian border and was barely a year old when *that* revolution "brought in the Kingdom." Now, a generation later its new utopia looks less and less like the Kingdom and more and more like the old Empire. The great revolution of our time, of course, is China. I was in that one too—teaching at Yenching University when Chu Teh, the Red Napoleon, swept down out of Manchuria across the North China plains and took Peking. Today a good many idealists, disillusioned with the Russian revolution, have been tempted to hope again and to pin their hopes to this new Chinese turning of the world upside down. Some of the

success stories that come out of China are true. The London *Economist*, in its new Asian survey, lists six countries which have broken through out of the dismal welter of economic failures that pockmark the face of Asia. One is Communist China. But before we hold up the People's Republic as a "mirror and model for the world," it might be well to remember that all the other five successful Asian economies are capitalist roaders: MacArthur's Japan (that's how the *Economist* gives the credit), Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan, Park Chung-Hee's South Korea, colonial Hong Kong, and rightist Singapore. And the survey deflatingly adds that China's success seems to have been achieved "through the usual Maoist process of outrageous historical mistake." (*Economist*, May 7-13, 1977, pp. 10-11.) So before we join Professor Needham of Cambridge in a chorus of praise to Mao Tse-tung as "a Christ-like figure" gently leading the masses to freedom, it might be wise to wait to see whether, before long, a Chinese Solzhenitsyn may not emerge to tell us that as Stalin was worse than the Czar, so Mao was worse than Chiang Kai-shek. Already his wife is numbered with the transgressors. How soon the Revolution disappoints even the faithful. "The God that failed," said Koestler, a long time ago.

Long before Koestler, an even wiser man wrote, "Let me show you a more excellent way." Paul was not writing about revolutions, but his words fit many contexts.

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. . . . And though I give all my goods to feed the poor;

and though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profits me nothing. . . ."

The familiar words are part of a warning against over-emphasis on the outer manifestations, the physical side, of the Christian's work and worship. Paul doesn't say that speaking in tongues is wrong. It's good, he says. A real gift of the Spirit. But he goes on to point out that this is true only when (1) it comes from the *Holy* Spirit (I Cor. 12:2, 3); (2) when it is not demanded from all Christians as the distinguishing mark of the believer (I Cor. 12:4-31); (3) when it is linked with a clear and understandable proclamation of God's word, not just the speaker's opinion (I Cor. 14:20-23); (4) when it is motivated by love (I Cor. chapter 13); (5) when it employs fitting and proper procedures (I Cor. 14:26-33).

I wonder if Paul might not have said much the same thing about Christians and revolution. I do not think he would say Christian radicalism is wrong, even when it seems to be trying to turn the world upside down. Good, and sometimes necessary, he might well say. *But* . . . But only when it is led by the Holy Spirit; when it is not demanded from all Christians in the same fixed patterns; when it is motivated by love, not politics; when it clearly proclaims God's judgment on all human systems, not specially selected ones; and when it employs fitting and proper procedures. The end does not justify the means.

And Paul would add, I think, "But let me show you a better way." Perhaps he would say: when the world upside down doesn't work—and it usually doesn't—try turning it inside out.

II. *Inside Out*

I do not think I am distorting the gospel record when I suggest that "turning the world inside out" is a better way of describing the way of the gospel—the mission and methods of Jesus—than "turning the world upside down."

Jesus began small and slow. He began with evangelism. He took fishermen and made them fishers of men. He changed people on the inside with faith instead of trying to carve the world outside to his shape with a sword. "Put up your sword, Peter," He said. He began with Christian discipling. He took a handful of ambitious, quarrelsome men and an unpromising group of women and trained them as disciples, not freedom-fighters. He molded them by word and example from the inside, not by radicalizing them or social legislation from the outside.

I know how disappointingly that seems to strip the gospel of a trumpet call to action. His first disciples didn't like it either. But how often the big-picture revolution fades, while the real revolutions, the power-releasing explosions, begin on the inside with a change at the core.

There's the atom, deep inside the matrix of matter, but for good or ill irrevocably changing the world in which we are going to live. Only astrologers and fortune-tellers think that it's the stars outside that affect the future. And there's the DNA revolution. Again, a small, mild beginning. This was its manifesto; a little statement of only 900 words hastily typed out by Crick and Watson at Cambridge early in 1953:

"We wish to suggest a structure for the salt of deoxyribose nucleic acid

(DNA). This structure has novel features which are of considerable biological interest. . . ."

(*The Double Helix* by J. Watson)

What a typical English understatement. They had found the shape of that "most golden of all molecules," as Watson described it later, the controlling particles of biological life in the human genes, not protein molecules as were generally thought, but DNA which has the unique ability to transmit life-shaping bacterial cells, one to another, thus determining the form of the living matter being produced. Looking at their strange little crystals, shaped like a double helix, twisting like spiral staircases, they exultantly believed that they had discovered "the Rosetta Stone for unraveling the true secret of life."

What they had actually done—and this is no reflection on the importance of their discovery—was simply to peel away another layer of the mystery that still hides the real secret of life. Perhaps it was an uneasy awareness of greater mysteries and greater inner forces eluding him that made Francis Crick, one of the original architects of the DNA revolution, so violently anti-Christian. He is a strange, abrasive man, not the most popular figure on the university scene. James Watson, his co-discoverer of DNA begins his book, *The Double Helix*, with the sentence, "I have never seen Francis Crick in a modest mood." When it was proposed to build a chapel at his college, Churchill (one of the newer Cambridge colleges), Crick exploded in anger. "If you ever put a chapel in at Churchill, I'll resign," he said. But they did. And he did. Now he's a little embarrassed about his outburst, and he has been reconciled with

the college, as an honorary fellow—but he's no nearer the chapel.

I wonder if it's because his own revolution has such frightening potentialities for disaster, that he instinctively recoils from an even greater one: the Christian one. They've taken his "golden molecules" and learned how to engineer and splice them in fantastic ways that could change the shape of all life as we know it, combining genetic material from one organism with another as different as plant and mammal—my unscientific imagination immediately suggested whale and poison ivy, conjuring up visions of monsters to come. But scientists are worried, too. "It's the biggest break with nature that has occurred in human history," warns one Nobel prize winner, George Wald, and he argues against turning the terrors of this revolution loose in the world.* He's too late. They say that even a bright high school student can try his hand at gene-splicing.

Perhaps Francis Crick, brilliant founder of one revolution, senses a disturbing rival in the demands of another—a revolution that calls for commitment not to the blind, faceless forces of his golden molecules, but to the small, warm light of "faith as a grain of mustard seed." Make no mistake about it: the Christian inside-out revolution may not turn the world upside down with quite the satisfying thump of a mortar barrage, or the impersonal precision of a bio-chemical experiment, but there is a pent-up, penetrating power in it that can change the world more significantly than DNA. It works curiously like DNA, however. It doesn't burn the system, it enters it. It doesn't accept the

system, it changes it. Nor does it withdraw from the system in utopian despair. Christianity splices in and begins its changing work inside.

Take as an example the role that the Christian faith, particularly Protestantism, has played in the whole national life of Korea. When the first Protestant missionaries came, beginning in 1884, their gospel was a simple gospel and their preaching was straight from the Bible. But because their missionary concern was as broad and as wide as the needs of the people, the transforming effect was explosive. Some of the first criticisms, in fact, of the Protestant pioneers centered around their interest in other than strictly religious matters. When Underwood imported kerosene and agricultural implements, and Moffett organized a timber concession on the Yalu, and Adams and Swallen brought in Korea's first apple trees, Western commercial traders protested. "That's not the business of missionaries," they cried. "It's unfair of them to use their intimate knowledge of Korea for commercial enterprises." And it galled them all the more to know that the missionaries were doing it not for personal gain but to teach the Koreans how to compete on more equal terms against outside exploitation. Almost without realizing it Christians were thus caught up in an economic revolution in Korea. They were even more active in the intellectual revolution, and nowhere more radically than in the field of education for women. Mrs. Namsa Hahn Kim came at night to call on the missionary. She set her little lantern in front of Miss Frey, and blew out the candle. "My life is like that, dark

* Quoted by G. F. Will in *The Herald Tribune*, International Edition, March 18-19, 1977.

as night," she said. "Won't you give me a chance to find light." It was the Christian answer to this plea that gave Korea's women that chance. The first schools for girls in the whole country were Christian schools, and women's role in Korean society has never been the same since—a transforming ferment that revolutionized everything from family relationships to public health. Perhaps the contribution that has most endeared Christians to the Korean people has been their part in Korea's struggle for justice and independence. Kiel Sun-Ju, the great Presbyterian evangelist, used to tell of how he learned about democracy through long talks with a missionary as together, about 1901, they began to plan a constitution for a self-governing, independent Korean Presbyterian Church. He became so enthusiastic a convert to the concept of representative rule that he declared "Democracy must not be limited to the church and the nation. We must begin with the Christian family." He shocked his neighbors—even the Christians among them—by telling his sons they would be free to marry girls of their own choice. Family problems were to be settled in a free and democratic way. When, for example, he found that his son's pigeons were spoiling the roof, he called a family council. "The pigeons must go," he announced, "Let us vote." And to his intense surprise and annoyance, the sons voted against him. But the canny old evangelist knew his human nature as well as his democracy. He came the next day to the youngest son. "Wouldn't you rather have a deer than pigeons?" he asked. And at the next vote, with that son at least happily on his side, the pigeons went. He carried the same practical wisdom and

intense convictions about fair play, representation, and liberty into Korea's struggle for independence from Japanese colonialism and became famous when he was sent to prison as leader of the Christian signers of Korea's Declaration of Independence in the massive, non-violent demonstrations of 1919. He was Korea's John Witherspoon.

But the old patriot, Pastor Kiel, would have protested had you suggested that leadership of an independence movement was his great contribution to Korea. The love of his life was evangelism. It was he who had led the great Korean Revival that swept like fire through the peninsula from 1903 to 1907 and touched off such an intense and massive ingathering of believers that in five short years church membership increased four-fold. As Koreans said afterwards to the missionaries, "Some of you go back to John Calvin, and some of you to John Wesley, but we can go back no further than 1907 when we first really knew the Lord Jesus Christ." That's when the change started, Pastor Kiel would assert. That's when the power came. I still don't know any better way to change a nation than to change its people. Begin inside.

III. *Inside and Out*

Even the geographical pattern of the Christian mission is "the world inside out." "Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria and away to the ends of the earth." The circles are concentric. Not from the top down. That's paternalism, and bureaucracy. And not from the outside in. The world does not "write the agenda." The Christian thrust comes from inside.

We missionaries with our eyes on the ends of the earth often give the impression, I am afraid, that we minimize

the importance of the center. We tend to suggest that the quicker a Christian leaves America for the "uttermost parts" the better, and that if we must return from time to time it should be only to tell you what you are doing wrong and how much better we are doing it out there. If so, I apologize.

In an "inside out" revolution the fire at the center is crucially important, and if that fire goes out the whole Christian world suffers. There is no substitute for the unity of the whole church in a whole mission to the whole world.

I may be wrong, but I have long suspected that one reason for the failure of Christianity in Asia in the first thousand years—it almost disappeared in the tenth century—was that the growing edge became cut off from the center. This didn't happen in the West (except with the Celtic church, and there's a lesson to be learned there, too). But from the beginning there was this difference between outreach east and outreach west: Paul, in the West, came back again and again to Jerusalem, but not Thomas in the East. Thomas disappeared into Asia and never came back. Even after Jerusalem fell, the center (or centers) of Christendom never lost touch with the missionary expansion west. But Asia was left out—cut off first at the Roman-Persian border by the 600-year smouldering war between those two giants. Cut off, too, by schism: first the Nestorian, then the Monophysite controversies that broke Christian Asia and Christian Africa away from the center. And then the double cut-off—the Mohammedan conquest. The Arabs swirled up out of the desert and separated the church in outer Asia (China) from its Asian center in

Persia, which had already been cut off from the west.

This may help to explain one of the mysteries of Asian church history: why did the Nestorians so completely disappear in China? They had blazed a missionary trail from Persia 7,000 miles across the high heart of the world in Central Asia. Beginning in the fourth and fifth centuries, in one of the most perilous and successful missionary ventures of all time they had carried the gospel along the old Silk Road from Edessa and Arbela into Afghanistan. They pushed over the Hindu Kush and up along the Mountains of Heaven where the lowest passes are 14,000 feet high and trees explode in the cold. They skirted the Taklamakan Desert, that most isolated spot on earth where China now shrouds in secrecy its work on atomic warfare. In the year 635 those Persian missionaries reached Chang'an, capital of Tang Dynasty China and one of the four largest cities of the world (along with Constantinople, Baghdad, and Kungju, Korea). At Chang'an the Chinese Emperor received the missionaries with unexpected courtesy; unexpected because he had just been persecuting Buddhists as unwanted foreign intruders from India. But he had melted, and he was in the midst of building up the world's greatest library at Chang'an. When he found out that the Persians were scholars preaching a religion of "the Book," he was so impressed he gave them study space in his library. He told them to translate their sacred books into Chinese. With an open door before them the missionaries set to work, the faith grew and the church spread. The Nestorian Monument tells us that by the 8th century there were missionary monasteries in all the pre-

fectures of China. Even if that is a pious exaggeration—it would mean 358 major Christian centers in 8th century. There is no question but that those were golden years for the church in China. That was 1,200 years ago. Then, as suddenly, it disappeared. In the year 987 an Arab historian wrote:

“Behind the church in the Christian quarter (of Baghdad) I fell in with a certain monk . . . who seven years before had been sent to China by the Patriarch with five other churchmen . . . I asked him about his travels and he told me that Christianity had become extinct in China. The Christians had perished in various ways. Their Church had been destroyed. And there remained not one Christian in China.”

(Abulfaraq, quoted by J. Foster, *The Church of the Tang Dynasty*, p. 115)

What had happened? Well many things—the fall of a friendly dynasty, the watering down of the faith as it interacted with other religions—but also (and I think this is important) the cutting off of the growing edge of the church from the center. The Persian missionaries reached China in A.D. 635. Less than ten years later the capital of the Persian empire and the center of the Nestorian church fell to the Muslims. The consequences to the church are sometimes exaggerated. It was the Zoroastrians, not the Christians, who were wiped out. Zoroastrianism was the Persian national religion and therefore anathema to the conquerors, but Christianity was a minority religion and was given lenient treatment as a possible ally against rebellious Persian nationalism.

Evangelism, however, was forbidden. There were to be no more conversions outside the Christian community.

Faced with the choice of evangelism or survival, the Nestorians chose survival. But what survived was no longer a living church; it was a Christian ghetto. They had given up their outreach—the evangelistic, missionary life-line which is the only part of the Christian revolution that insures survival. So they withered away. Not just at the center, in Persia. In China, out at the edge, the church completely disappeared and it was centuries before it returned under the Mongols.

It may be an over-generalization, but I think it is true that when the center gives up its mission, and the edge loses touch with the center, as happened in Asia between the 8th and 10th centuries, both the center and the edge weaken and wither. This is one reason why I refuse to accept the tempting slogan, “The day of the western missionary is over.” It is true that “the great new fact” of our day is the rise of the younger churches. But there is both a theological and historical necessity to a continuing western presence in mission. The wholeness of the household of God demands it.

For older, tired churches like ours this means that we cannot happily turn over the world to the younger church and get back to our own pressing problems. There is a primary and basic responsibility of the whole church that not even the exhilarating rise of the younger church and the growth of third-world missions can make obsolete. Buying our way out by supporting someone else’s missionaries is no Christian answer either. You can’t do missions by proxy, though that does seem to be the direc-

tion in which we are heading. In 1966 we United Presbyterians had 1,082 overseas missionaries. Ten years later in 1976 we were down to 402, and of these only 29 were under 40 years of age. By 1982, without new blood, we will have only 169 overseas missionaries left, and this at a time when the world's Christians aren't even keeping up with the population growth. By the year 2000 there will be more non-Christians in the world than there are *people* in the world today (4 billion 600 million non-Christians in 2000 by present trends; 4 billion people altogether today). This is no time to go Nestorian and sink back into our plush but shrinking Christian ghetto, thinking "Small is beautiful."

There is a corollary warning in this for the younger churches, too. When the growing edge loses touch with the center, both suffer. The center can turn into a ghetto, but so can the edge. It can become a cluster of racist, nationalist ghettos sprinkled forlornly through the vast, peopled reaches of the third world. Asia, with over half of all the people in the world, is only three per cent Christian. Cut off the weaker clusters there and they will probably simply die like the Nestorians from evangelistic or theological or ethical malnutrition. But even the strong younger churches today need the balance of a living, working relationship outside themselves. Today some voices are suggesting a moratorium on missionaries. This is not unreasonable sometimes; particularly where an insecure younger church needs short-term space to grow and breathe. But as long-term policy it leads straight down into what Bishop Stephen Neill has called "the snake-pit of ecclesiastical nationalism." We will end up, if we are not careful, with one

Christian ghetto talking to another only at long distance, through ecumenical embassies and international councils. Even after the Asian cut-off Nestorian bishops sometimes accompanied Arab embassies to China, but the working partnership was gone, and it is that working partnership—not ecumenical relations—that is so vital to mission. I will always remember Dr. Mackay insisting that "Ecumenics is unity *and* mission." Take away mission and it is no longer ecumenics. The edge and the center need each other in mission, or they both wither.

But which is the edge and which is the center, I am no longer sure. I have been speaking with typical arrogance as if the center is here in the west, and as if the rest of the world is the outside edge. In a sense, I suppose, we all have to begin where we are. And geographically and numerically the weight of balance is still in the west. But to call ourselves the center and to brush the rest of the world off to the fringe is not only one-sided history, it is theologically absurd.

How provincially we remember our church history. We begin in the east—what else can we do with Bethlehem and Jerusalem and Antioch? But as quickly as is decent we escape with Paul from Asia through Philippi into Europe. And once there we never look back. Constantine is the first Christian king. Rome the center. The first missionaries convert northern Europe. Then, becoming even more provincial, we turn Protestant and purified by Luther and Calvin we move on to Plymouth Rock from whence, 1,800 years after Christ, we bring our belated western blessings to Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea.

That is a caricature, of course. We were never taught like that at Princeton. But when modern Christendom forgot its Asian roots, it created for itself one of the most unnecessary obstacles it has ever had to contend with in world mission; namely, the image of Christianity as a foreign, western import. Christianity is not western. It began where Asia meets Africa. The importation was in the other direction, into Europe. The first missionaries were from Asia, and our western ancestors were their converts, or their converts' converts. The first Christian king was Asian. Not Constantine. Possibly Gundaphar of India (if you like tradition), or Abgar of Osroene who ruled a border kingdom east of the Euphrates a hundred years before Constantine. The first church building of record was in Asia and the first Christian hospital. There were more martyrs ripped apart and flayed alive in Persia than all the Christians killed in all the persecutions of the Roman empire.

What may be more to the point, just as the church was not western there at the beginning, neither is it western today. The balance is shifting back. How many members, for example, did we United Presbyterians lose last year? By contrast our sister Presbyterian church in Korea added 200 whole new congregations in 1976. I hear that some Amer-

ican seminaries have been closing. But there are 500 theological schools spreading and growing in an arc along the rim of Asia from Japan to India. The fastest growing churches in the world may actually be in Latin America, or perhaps Africa, where Christians are multiplying so rapidly that we will soon no longer have to be embarrassed by the white face that Christianity now seems to show to the world. In not so many more decades that face will be more dark than white.

But in the deepest sense, that is all beside the point. The world is still looking in a glass darkly if it sees either white or dark in the face of the Christian church. The face it ought to see is neither yours nor mine, but Christ's. And the whole point of turning the world inside out is not to change the center from west to east or north to south. What we are sent to do is to call the world to a new center, the true center, Jesus Christ. For most revolutions turn to ashes, but this one burns from the inside out, and when we let it burn purely through His body, the Church, it burns and is not consumed. As an old hymn put it simply, long ago:

"How soon men forge again
The fetters of their past.
As long as Jesus lives in us,
So long our freedoms last."

When God Touches Me

When God touches me
I touch from inside.
I feel life in its fullness,
God in life.

When God reveals himself to me
I know that deep inside
Something is valuable,
Worth listening to,
Worthy of my trust,
Sacred to the touch.

Spirit comes alive
When I am made alive
By love.

Spirit ebbs away
With love's decline.

So when I know God,
I know the experience
Of love,
Of wonder,
Of creation
And a creativity that invites me
To experience something new
In myself,
In others
In God.

When I believe
Whatever opens me
To become more human
Is the knowing
That God is here.

I want with my whole self,
Not even halfway
I want to know,
Not just know about.
I want to touch
And to be touched.

When God touches me
The world
And other people
Touch me,
Ask me
To be more human,
To touch them.

When I respond
With all that I am
And hope to be
Then I touch God

And then to live
Is to live in faith
That I have found
And am at one with
An incarnate God.

Faith is when
I have learned
To touch God
From inside.

I have seen beautiful things
In the midst of ugly things
God with us
In this world around us.

God becomes human,
God becomes life,
God becomes love,
I become me
And God becomes God
With us.

—by Richard Lutz
(Class of 1964)

Facing God Together

by DANIEL C. DEARMENT

An alumnus of the College of Wooster (A.D., 1955), Union Theological Seminary, N.Y. (B.D., 1958) and of Princeton Theological Seminary (Th.M., 1966), Mr. DeArment is presently Chaplain Supervisor at the Presbyterian-University of Pennsylvania Medical Center. Formerly he served pastorates in Ohio and New Jersey. He serves also as a Supervisor in Clinical Training in the CPE program of Princeton Seminary.

Exodus 32:7-14; Hebrews 4:14-5:9; Matthew 23:29-39

Most of us have developed some method of dealing with the *MAJOR dilemmas of life*—the method may not always work but probably we have one—

We *pray*, we *read* the Bible—

We seek guidance from friends,
professionals, books—

We employ patience, or we try harder.

BUT when someone else is upset, in sorrow, grief, danger, pain, etc., and they come to *US* expressing these feelings—then what?

Often their feelings seem to pull us down, and we try one of our methods—it doesn't work for them—but there they are Demanding Answers—Beseeching us for help—

Reaching out *OR* striking out!

And we are on the spot to help them. *A HELPER.*

Often this kind of situation involves some reference to God—

It is as though there were a stage—with three characters:

The Lord God, The Other Person, Yourself.

It is about the drama on this stage that I would like to share with you this morning,
asking—

How do we play our part, when caught between someone who is bringing a case before God, and the Lord Himself?

* * * * *

I—Defenders of God

A great many people feel that they should *Defend God*.

They stride across the stage, put their backs to God, stay close to Him, face their fellow men, and *speak for God*, often with the wagging of a finger, or at least the admonishing tones of a patient parent.

Consider several cases where this kind of role is taken by a *God Defender*.

A young person is protesting about the unfairness of life. Perhaps he is angry

about no work—or the school system, or his family; he is fed up with religion, the Bible, prayer, ministers, churches, good Christian people, etc.

Can't you just hear the God Defender raising his righteous hackles? Saying, "Well, if we had a little bit more real religion in the world (especially among the younger generation), you wouldn't have so much to complain about."

Or consider, a parent who has experienced the agony and grief of seeing a child die a painful death.

They cry out, "Why?"

"Why not me?"

They throw themselves on the stage before God and plead "Why?"

And still the answer came from whose mind of faith identifies with God, who on reaching out to the sufferer, says,

"It is God's will."

"God is merciful."

"You must believe and go on."

Or take this one step further and see the sufferer rise to his feet, shake his fist—his grief turning to anger—pounding on God's throne, threatening to reject everything connected with Him and His so-called world of Love and Beauty.

Again, perhaps especially because someone is *Mad at God*, the Defender seeks to say, "You are wrong."

"You must not be mad at God," and

"God's Honor is defended."

Now think about this—just think for a second:

God Almighty does not need us to defend him. (pause)

I think He must be amused more than anything else to see men of faith, and very often professional men of faith, plant their feet before Him and face someone who faces Him, and shake a finger.

Just think of some of the great hymns, and the Psalms, and chapter after chapter of the Bible—Holy, Holy, Holy; Lord God Almighty; God the Omnipotent, Immortal, Invisible, God Only Wise, etc.

God does not need us to defend Him.

and just how does the other guy feel,
if we take this stance??

He feels *overwhelmed*, when already life seems too much for him.

He feels *more guilty*, when already he feels
that way. No one doubts, or is angry with God easily?

And certainly he does not feel closer to God, or
comforted because he has met a God Defender
looking him in the eye.

There is another way, another role, a more excellent one—I have seen it and so have you.

II

This is the way of simply acting out the truth, that—we too are fellow sufferers in life,

that we too are fellow pilgrims along the way,
that we are just human beings like they are.

One day in our Chapel a lady was grieving violently and passionately. She struck out with words against God and Life—she was 27 years old; seven months pregnant; her husband had just died; her brother was killed two months before in Vietnam, and her father had died within the year.

A young God Defender—a seminarian, stood before her—between her and the cross, and attempted in vain to say something for God.

Then in came her pastor, and with tears in his eyes, he sat beside her, put his arm around her, and looked with her toward the cross—and let her be *Mad at God*.

He did not need to be a God-Defender because he knew God's Power and Compassion; and he knew that he too was just a human being, and he identified with her—and looked with her toward God.

So rich—so simple—so difficult—so compassionate—so filled with tragedy and triumph—

To be just a fellow man, with another who is suffering.

See how this stance, this posture is given to us throughout the Bible—

Moses—and the stiffnecked people—

God is going to give up on them.

They have given up on Him, and built the calf—but Moses pleads, intercedes on their behalf. He does this as a priest, and a leader of the people.

And again, remember the priests of the Kingdom of Israel who entered the Sanctuary—the Holy of Holies—bearing the sins, sorrows, and sacrifices of the people—praying for them—interceding for them—*identifying* with them.

It reminds me of the Archbishop in the Russian Orthodox Church, who on Easter morning gathers with the people—knocks on the church door (symbolic of the tomb) and when it opens he looks in and turns to tell them “He is Risen.”

But by now, of course, you have figured out that above all others, the coming of Jesus Christ is the Coming of One who identifies with the people.

He is: the Son of Man.

He is: God stooping Himself to become a man.

He is: tempted in every way as we are.

He is: able to sympathize with our weaknesses.

Read Hebrews 5:1-3

III

And after Jesus—the Church—a priesthood of all believers.

(Incidentally this does not mean that each man can be his own priest.
That is an anti-Catholic idea.)

Each person, each Christian, every man, woman and child, charged, enjoined, encouraged by the example of Jesus Himself—

to be a priest, an iden-ti-fier with his fellowmen.

Isn't this what the church is??

A fellowship of persons who look to God together—who search for Him, and attempt to answer His beckoning call.

Just ordinary people who refuse to be separated from one another when life gets rough, but who cling to one another and *look toward the Cross for some comfort and challenge.*

People who understand life as a common experience, of temptation, sorrow,
joy, fear, anger
and all else that
life brings every one of us.

People who refuse to believe that they can be divided into—
the Good and the Bad
the Noble and the Ignoble
the Smart and the Dumb
the Rich and the Poor

the Black and the White
 the Young and the Old
 the Males and the Females.

In all our rich experiences together as a church—do we not look toward God Together?

Baptism—Confirmation—Marriage—
 Holy Communion—Funerals

And toward the world as a whole the church takes the same stance—seeking to embrace the world, saying

“Look world, look everyone who doesn’t happen to call yourself Christian—we love you, and we do not believe we are different; we want to proclaim to you our humanity and yours,
 and put our arms around you, and look toward God together, for we too know pain, evil, sorrow, and brokenness.”

Pope John put it for all of us—

“Let the world know that the church loves the world.”

Not us with our back to God,
 facing a sinful world,
 while our finger waves,
 and our tongues wag;

but with our arms linked with the world we look
 toward God together.

Conclusions

When you and I leave this sanctuary today, we walk out onto the stage.
 Chances are we will (*if we dare*) meet someone in agony or frustration.

We can be sure that God is in His
 Heaven and does not need us up there.

But can we clasp hands with our brothers?

Can we embrace life with them?
 Can we be with them?

so that faith is a common seeking, and love the
 power of knowing that we are one with all men.

Can we, can you, face God
 with another person?

BOOK REVIEWS

I Maccabees—A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, by Jonathan A. Goldstein (The Anchor Bible). Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1976. Pp. xxiii + 587. \$9.00.

The author of this extensive work is professor of History and Classics at the University of Iowa. The Introduction of 179 pages consists of eight parts in which are discussed the contents and character of I and II Maccabees as well as the historical sources, the work of Josephus, and the date and the setting of I and II Maccabees. Part VII of the Introduction has an important chronological table from 189 B.C. to 76 B.C.; in this connection numerous details of events are presented, and the reader will gain a clear perspective of what happened in that turbulent period of Jewish history. In our English Bibles without the Apocrypha there is an historical gap between the Old Testament and the New, and accordingly many readers of the Bible have no knowledge of the stirring events that took place between the end of the Old Testament period and the birth of Christ. I Maccabees begins with the accession of Antiochus (IV) Epiphanes (176 B.C.) and closes with the death of Simon, the last of the brothers of Judas Maccabaeus (134 B.C.).

I Maccabees is a Greek translation made from a Hebrew original, which survived as late as the time of Jerome. Professor Goldstein made his translation from the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, in which I Maccabees was edited by Werner Kappler (1916).

This rendering reads very well. The chapters are divided with appropriate headings into sections, at the end of which are copious notes. In this respect Goldstein has given us an exhaustive commentary.

This work contains four illustrations of the Temple. The twelve pages of maps amply illustrate the historical situation. The Appendices are devoted to discussions of the Seleucid Era in I and II Maccabees. At the end of the volume are two indexes: one of proper names and subject matter and one of citations of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha. This book is indispensable for making a study of

the Maccabean period. The author is to be commended for having made this contribution to biblical scholarship. Considering the cost of books, this portly volume is reasonably priced.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Covenant and Promise: The Prophetic Understanding of the Future in Pre-Exilic Israel, by John Bright. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1976. Pp. 207. \$10.00.

The author of this book is the professor of Hebrew and the Interpretation of the Old Testament, Emeritus, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. This work is based upon Professor Bright's Currie lectures delivered at the Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin, Texas. These lectures were extended and reworked and put into book form. The book reads very well, but occasionally the reader feels that Bright is lecturing.

The book contains six chapters: the Future Hope of Early Israel: Yahweh's Election of Mt. Zion and of David; the Future in the Theology of the Eighth Century Prophets; the Beginnings of Eschatology; the Seventh Century; Apostasy and Reform; Jeremiah: the Prophet *contra Mundum*; and Theology in Crisis: the Last Days of the Kingdom of Judah and Beyond.

According to Professor Bright the promise of future salvation is one of the most distinctive features in the message of the prophets and this serves to bind the Old Testament with the New into a single canon of Scripture. He maintains that among the nations of the ancient world, Israel alone developed an eschatology. He discusses the covenant God made with Abraham and observes that in this patriarchal covenant rests God's unconditional promise for the future. The author points out that the covenant had been a determinative factor in the life of Israel from the very beginning. The Mosaic covenant made at Sinai also receives due consideration.

The writer gives a good account of the achievements of David, God's covenant with

him, and the choice of Zion as the spiritual center of the Davidic kingdom. Bright notes that in some circles the Davidic covenant was viewed as a renewal and extension of the promises made to Abraham. At the same time, however, the author notes that a trust in the promises of God could readily lapse into complacency, and such an attitude is frequently seen in the messages of the prophets, especially in Amos. In the teaching of Hosea, Israel's apostasy was "a crime against grace."

As regards the birth of Immanuel (Is. 7: 10-17), Bright does not go into details, but in a footnote he considers the child as a son of the royal house.

In connection with the reform of Josiah, Bright says that this may signify the victory of the Mosaic covenant over the Davidic; he asserts, however, that the triumph was neither complete nor permanent. In this connection we should note the new covenant (Jer. 31:31-34) in which the law is not written on tablets of stone, but upon the human heart (Cf. Heb. 10:16-18).

Dr. Bright has given us good Old Testament Theology, and the minister who reads this book will find in it a good review of the theology of the prophets also.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Introduction to the Old Testament, by J. Alberto Soggin. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1976. Pp. xxxii + 510. \$16.50.

The author of this work is Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Waldensian Theological Seminary in Rome; previously he taught at the Theological Seminary of his own Church in Buenos Aires.

The book is divided into six parts: History and General Problems; the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets; the Pre-Exilic Prophets; the Exile and the Post-Exilic Prophets; the Writings; and the Deutero-Canonical Books. There are also two Appendices of Inscriptions and Papyri, which have a bearing on Old Testament studies.

Professor Soggin recognizes the difficulty of dating large portions of the Old Testament, and he notes that the biblical scholar must have an acquaintance with the Semitic literature of the Ancient Near East. In his discus-

sion of biblical criticism the learned writer observes that the present tendency in this field is to be more prudent with the Hebrew text than one would be some decades ago. A clear, but brief, distinction is made between lower and higher criticism. Frequently for the layman the term higher criticism has been confusing and even alarming, but in trying to get at the sources behind the consonantal text, we may compare the term higher to the figure of a river, the source of which is higher than the stream. Soggin in discussing the Bible as the inspired word of God for the Synagogue and the Church, correctly observes that the capacity for discerning the divine plan within history distinguishes a "sacred" author in the Old Testament from any other kind of writer. In fact, the Old Testament presents a philosophy of history permeated with theology. In speaking of myth the author recognizes it as supra-historical and maintains that the religion of Israel laid the foundation for a separation between faith and myth. Soggin's treatment of literary genres and oral transmission of Old Testament material is interesting and informative. As regards the Decalogue, the author accepts the possibility that it goes back to the nomadic period and could be attributed to Moses. The final redaction of the Pentateuch is dated some time before the break with the Samaritans.

In considering the Book of Isaiah, Soggin makes passing reference to the conservative circles in Judaism, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism that believe the entire book was written by the Isaiah of the eighth century B.C., but he follows scientific biblical scholarship in accepting a Deutero-Isaiah and a Trito-Isaiah. About three pages are devoted to the Songs of the Servant of the Lord, which are characterized as mysterious. A number of modern theories are presented, but no definite solution of the perennial problem is reached. The Targum interprets the Servant as the Messiah; the prophet Zechariah (3:8-10) apparently identifies the Branch, a familiar designation of the Messiah, with the Servant. In this connection we could reconsider the view of Delitzsch, who regarded the Servant as a floating conception, which he expressed in the form of a pyramid; the base, which has the largest area, represents entire Israel according to the flesh; a cross section, which has a smaller area than the base, symbolizes a smaller group, Israel according to

the spirit; finally the apex stands for an individual.

The author regards the Psalms as a cross section of the cultic life, when Hebrew poetry was still to a large extent under the influence of Canaanite forms. In his brief treatment of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs he considers the controversies over their inclusion in the canon. He concludes that the allegorical interpretation of the Song gave it recognition as a part of Scripture. As regards the Book of Daniel, Soggin is correct in dating the work between 168 and 164 B.C. In the chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah he recognizes the difficulty raised by scholars and quotes the view that Ezra follows Nehemiah, but despite his objections to such an hypothesis, he does not say positively that the tradition of placing Ezra first should be accepted.

This is a good book, which will have a worthy place in a pastor's library. The French critic, Boileau, once said: "Style is of the man." Those who know Professor Soggin will see his personality reflected throughout the entire work.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Biblical Studies: Essays in Honor of William Barclay, ed. by Johnston R. McKay and James F. Miller. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1976. Pp. 223. \$12.50.

It is rather difficult to review a *Festschrift*, because the various chapters often have no direct relation with each other, and the reader has to flit from one subject to another as he reads the book. William Barclay, formerly professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at Glasgow University, has been a prolific writer on the New Testament and a popular commentator. The editors are both parish ministers in Scotland, and one of them, J. R. McKay, has written also a personal appreciation of Professor Barclay. Ronald Falconer has contributed a chapter on Barclay as a broadcaster. Various universities are represented in this work: Glasgow has three contributors; Edinburgh, two; Aberdeen, two; St. Andrews, two; Oxford, two; Cambridge, one; Nottingham, one; McGill, one; Mt. Allison at Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada,

one. In addition to the two editors, one pastor has contributed an article.

Professor R. S. Barbour is the author of the paper, "The Bible—Word of God?" He says that the Bible is essentially witness to Christ and to God, who is God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. He notes that the Bible is not only word of God to man, but also word of man to man and word of man to God. He regards the Bible as the irreplaceable model for the understanding of God and of faith in Christ.

Robert Davidson discusses "The Old Testament—A Question of Theological Relevance." He begins with the year 1901 with the work of George Adam Smith, who held that modern criticism won the victory over the traditional theories about the Bible. No action was taken by the Church against Smith; this was a sharp contrast to what happened twenty years earlier to William Robertson Smith, who was removed from his professorship for his teachings in Aberdeen. Davidson maintains that critical work on the basic structure of Old Testament Theology—whether in terms of covenant relationship, *Heilsgeschichte* promise-fulfillment, and communion with God—provided most of the impetus for the growth of biblical theology.

Hugh Anderson is the author of the article, "A Future for Apocalyptic?" He discusses the terms End and End-time. He points out that great works of literature, such as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Dante's *Inferno*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, owed much to the imagery of apocalyptic. For the seer God's ultimate victory will mean the end of great empires and their replacement by God's rule. In this the writer emphasizes that God will reign.

In his chapter, "Eschatology and Politics: Some Misconceptions," George B. Caird understands that the word "eschatology" covers the biblical teaching about the destiny of the world and the accomplishments of God's purposes in and through his holy people. He also refers to *das Ende* (the end) and *die Endzeit* (the time of the end).

Charles Scobie has contributed the article, "North and South: Tension and Reconciliation in Biblical History." He notes the fall of the Northern Kingdom was a great temptation to Judah to see itself alone as the chosen people of God. This is reflected in the Letter of Aristeas, which narrates that seventy-two interpreters of the Old Testament were sent

from Jerusalem, six from each of the twelve tribes, to render the Pentateuch into Greek.

In "The Epistle for Today," Neil Alexander considers the Gospels and Epistles and comes to the conclusion that the Epistle to the Ephesians is the epistle for today.

Ernest Best contributes the article, "Mark 10:13-16: The Child as a Model Recipient." At the end of the chapter he points out that Jesus is not on the same plane as the disciples and that he provides the teaching and understanding through which they become disciples.

George Johnston in his presentation, "New Testament Christology in a Pluralistic Age," makes the statement: "And so I have to declare in fear and trembling that Jesus is and he remains the supreme Word of God who commands my head, my heart, my will."

In "Apollos the Alexandrian," A. M. Hunter asserts: "If Jesus is not the Kingdom of God incarnate—God manifest in the flesh—but only one more man, however good and great and gifted, we had better erase the word 'Gospel' from our vocabulary."

This *Festschrift* is concerned also with text and biblical language. J.C.O. Neill contributes the article: "Glory to God in the Highest, And on Earth?" He explains that Luke (2.14) originally wrote:

"Glory in the highest to God
And on earth among men good will."

In other words *eiréne* (peace) is a gloss on *eudokía*.

For the pastor who has kept up his biblical languages and uses them for exegetical purposes, Matthew Black's article, "Some Greek Words with 'Hebrew' Meanings in the Epistles and Apocalypse," is important and should be studied thoroughly. Finally the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, W. D. McHardy, has contributed "Cambridge Syriac Fragment XXVI." This manuscript is a palimpsest, and McHardy was able to add considerably to what is decipherable. It is a fitting tribute to Barclay that the volume ends with such a scholarly article on text and language. This *Festschrift* contains a great deal of nontechnical sound scholarship, which can be usefully appropriated in the proclamation of the Gospel.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

The Book of Deuteronomy, by P. C. Craigie (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament). Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976. Pp. 424. \$9.95.

This commentary is written from an unabashedly "conservative perspective" (p. 46). Swimming boldly against the tide of a formidable host of contemporary critical scholars, Craigie insists that Deuteronomy "comes from the time of Moses or shortly thereafter . . ." (p. 28). He argues that the much discussed ancient Near Eastern treaty documents allow for such an early date just as much as a seventh century date (*contra* Frankena, Weinfeld, *et al.*). Indications of "northern" and "southern" influences in the book (e.g., Nicholson) are explained by the removal of the book or a copy of it to the North after the division of the two kingdoms (p. 53). Knowledge of conditions in Palestine ostensibly only possible after the Conquest is explained as relying on patriarchal memories of the land (p. 55). At times Craigie seems to espouse the traditional view of Mosaic authorship rather literally. Such, for example, appears to be the reason behind his reading of 33:3b-5—where Moses is mentioned in the third person—as a choral response of the people (p. 392). On the whole, however, the emphasis falls not on Mosaic authorship *per se*, but on a date of composition within the Mosaic era, with a *terminus ad quem* no later than the renewal of the covenant by Joshua at Shechem (Joshua 8:30-35; p. 32). In an Appendix to the Introduction, Craigie defends his hermeneutical perspective as "theological-historical, or theological-scientific," and insists that it is equally respectable, if not also more faithful, than the standard historical criticism. The "theological" side of Craigie's formulation seems to be, in essence, an appreciation for biblical inspiration and—in some form—infallibility, although the latter word is avoided (cf. p. 76). In addition, there are occasions on which an explicit Christological hermeneutic is brought to bear on the text (cf. for example his interpretation of 4:35 and 18:15-22, as well as his comments on the curses, pp. 45 and 341).

Given the "conservative perspective" with regard to the dating of the book and in relation to historical criticism, it should come as

no surprise that Craigie's exegesis often differs from that of his more critical contemporaries. Since, for Craigie, virtually the whole book comes from a time no later than Joshua, if not from Moses himself, there is obviously little grist provided for the traditio-historical mill. Already in the exegesis of ch. 1, the reader begins to realize the consequences of Craigie's methodological presuppositions. Although Craigie recognizes that this chapter "repeats material from the other books of the Pentateuch in shorter and sometimes *different* form" (p. 94, emphasis added), there is no attempt to investigate this relationship in terms of varying oral traditions, not to mention varying textual accounts. There is no indication that the selection of leaders (1:15) might reflect the monarchic period, nor is any question raised concerning the differing initiators of the spy mission in 1:22-23 and the version in Numbers 13; the two are harmonized in a manner typical at least since Luther. Craigie's refusal at least to discuss here a possible history of tradition—and its possible theological implications—is all the more puzzling in light of his ambiguous references to Moses' being "selective in his choice of topics" (cf. on 1:25, p. 108, n. 5, and on 2:30). Moreover, he has no difficulty in recognizing that there are "minor additions" in the book, reflecting historical periods as late as the Exile (cf. p. 24, n. 17 on 2:10-12 etc.; for other problems, see his discussion of 5:5 and 32:48-52).

If the dating of the book leads to a refusal to contemplate any considerable history of traditions, it also leads to a strange form of realized eschatology and a rather wooden understanding of prophecy. Thus 4:27-30 ("the nations where the Lord will drive you," RSV) is understood to refer, not to the Exilic period (which, according to many commentators, is also the *background* of the passage), but to "the immediate future" (note the translation "lead" rather than "drive"), and the reference in the text to being "scattered among the peoples" is taken to refer to dispersion *within* Canaan! Similarly, the curses in 28:15-68 "seem to assume an awful inevitability" in the light of "the subsequent history of Israel" (p. 341), and thus "Moses' address takes on a prophetic tone . . ." (p. 350).

Despite the exegetical problems created by Craigie's conservative dating, and his wari-

ness of historical criticism, it must be emphasized that this commentary is far from being uninformed regarding the numerous critical issues. Although he rarely enters into debate with other scholars outside of the Introduction, his footnotes and bibliography bristle with references to the latest scholarly studies, including ancient Near Eastern materials. At times there are also echoes in the exegesis of the work of critical scholars, even if there is no explicit reference to them (cf. Craigie's interpretation of 1:26-33; 2:14, 25 and the studies of Lohfink and Moran).

Along with the thoroughness of his reading, one can only applaud his treatment of certain major themes and issues: the centrality of the Decalogue in the book; the emphasis on the transmission of the tradition to each new generation; the role of parenthesis; "law" as instruction and action, rather than simply rigid legalism; the importance of covenant "love." Indeed, although it may come as a surprise to some, Craigie's insistence on a conservative dating, and at times, hermeneutic, by no means prevents his ability to render a sensitive reading of the texts in terms of Deuteronomic theology. Given its serious drawbacks, therefore, the commentary can still be welcomed as an up-to-date, full-length study of this pivotal Old Testament book. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that the theological differences between Craigie and the more "liberal" interpreters (especially regarding the date of the various strata of the book) are, in actuality, rather insignificant. In the end, these differences have to do with the very nature of revelation, as Craigie's Appendix 1 itself indicates. Craigie's view would ultimately force us to a reductionistic understanding of revelation as a form of intimate knowledge imparted to a particular individual, which knowledge allows him to look into the future with clairvoyant power. On the other hand, the more critical view of Deuteronomy would see a complex process of development in which revelation is born out of a painful reflection on the events of *history*, and a sober (if not somber) expectation of what that past may hold for the future. That future is still not without hope; but it is a hope disciplined and refined by the *realities* of defeat and despair, not just the possibilities. Revelation is thus profoundly existential, reflecting the fundamental meaning of the

"prophetic." Of course, Craigie could easily claim that, in his view as well, Moses' farewell speech to Israel *does* reflect historical experience (the era from Egypt to the Jordan), as Moses' parenthetic recollections themselves suggest. But perhaps such a claim only demonstrates the versatility of Deuteronomy itself: whether it is dated to the Mosaic era or to the Exilic crisis, for the sensitive interpreter it can render a profound theological understanding not only of the historical Israel, but also of the contemporary community of faith. As such it is a book for conservative and liberal alike, a charter for a new generation in the promised land.

THOMAS W. MANN

Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School, by Moshe Weinfeld. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972. Pp. 467. \$30.75.

Because of both content and price, this book is not likely to find its way to many pastoral libraries. That will be unfortunate, for whether the book is purchased or not it deserves a thoughtful reading by anyone who is interested in the Deuteronomistic school, and in the two literary masterpieces which that school produced—the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic history. In both its original and final position, the former occupies a pivotal place in the Old Testament canon and in Old Testament theology: it introduces the panoramic Deuteronomistic history running to the end of 2 Kings, and yet it constitutes the conclusion of the Pentateuch, the bedrock of the Hebrew canon and of Judaism. In short, anyone who wants to come to grips with the fundamental themes of Old Testament theology cannot avoid the subject matter of this book; and Weinfeld has offered us a piquant and illuminating guide.

The author himself has provided perhaps the best summary of the central claim of his book, and its supporting arguments, in the closing paragraph of the Introduction (p. 9):

"The thesis of the present study is that deuteronomistic composition is the creation of scribal circles which began their literary project some time prior to the reign of Josiah and were still at work after the fall of Judah. We shall try to demonstrate this

thesis in three ways: by a typological analysis of the literary form employed by the authors, by an investigation of the religious ideology of deuteronomistic composition, and by a study of its didactic aims and methods."

In fact, the last sentence is a summary of the three main parts of the book. In Part I, "The Typology of Deuteronomistic Composition," Weinfeld presents his case for a literary apprehension of the Deuteronomistic literature in the strictest sense. In an analysis of the various orations in Deuteronomy (Dt) and the Deuteronomistic history (D)—valedictory, prophetic, liturgical, and military—Weinfeld finds adaptations of older forms and traditions, now couched in the familiar parenthetic style and theology of the Deuteronomistic school. Weinfeld's interpretation of these orations as literary creations rather than recorded speeches leads to an important conclusion regarding their *Sitz im Leben* (their sociological setting). "The orations *as they have come down to us in Deuteronomy* [Weinfeld's emphasis], are undoubtedly the product of speculative thought and do not derive from cultic reality" (p. 53). With this one sentence Weinfeld challenges a generation of near consensus concerning the provenance of the book.

Following his treatment of the orations, Weinfeld moves to the well-known parallels between Dt and ancient Near Eastern treaties. He argues that the form, style, and much of the ideology (e.g., understandings of absolute allegiance and of treason) of the "Moab covenant" of Dt are strikingly similar not only to the Hittite treaties, but also and especially to the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon, documents contemporary with the period of the Josianic reform. On the other hand, Weinfeld suggests that the recent preoccupation with treaty models has obscured the equally real similarities between the core of Dt (chs. 12-26) and even more ancient law codes. In concluding Part I, he then identifies more closely the members of the Deuteronomistic school: they belonged to the scribal family of Shaphan (2 Kings 22), which was also closely connected with Jeremiah. The fact that the scribal school was part of the royal court helps explain the centrality of the monarchy in D.

As a preface to Part II and III, Weinfeld

presents his interpretation of the Priestly and Deuteronomic literary documents, and their authors. Chronologically, they must be seen as concurrent; in fact, in many ways, D has incorporated P, rather than the reverse. The contrasts between the P and D schools are sharp: P centered in the Temple, concerned with the sacred realm and the divine; D centered in the royal court, concerned with secular and politico-national affairs. Part II is then devoted to the Deuteronomic modes of "Demythologization and Secularization." In contrast to Priestly anthropomorphism, there is the Deuteronomic concept of the name of Yahweh. In cultic matters, the Deuteronomic legislation betrays a characteristic secularizing and humanizing tendency: sacrifices and festivals are purged of their natural and mythological associations, fused with Israel's historical traditions, and exploited as the means for social justice. The Deuteronomic conception of holiness includes the whole people, thereby undercutting any sharp distinction between priests and laypersons. Further secular trends in Dt are seen in its judicial reforms, laws of asylum and warfare, and concepts of sin and punishment.

In Part III, Weinfeld traces the links between Deuteronomic and wisdom literature, a connection to which many of his previous interpretations had already led. Even more important than various references to wisdom in Dt (cf. 1:12) and D (e.g., 1 Kings 3), as well as parallels in content with wisdom literature, Weinfeld sees the humanistic concerns of Deuteronomic legislation (e.g., 15: 12-18 and particular concern for women) as hallmarks of the wisdom school. Similarly, the didacticism of Dt, along with its understanding of reward, goes hand in hand with wisdom thinking, albeit in a nationalized form.

The book concludes with unusually thorough and helpful appendices, bibliography, etc. (almost 150 pages!). Especially convenient are the lists of Deuteronomic phrases and glossaries of Hebrew words (plus those from seven other ancient languages). The indices on extra-biblical and biblical texts are also comprehensive, and there is a subject index as well.

The seriousness of some of Weinfeld's challenges to commonly held notions about Dt and D inevitably means that his work will create serious debate which will no doubt go

on for years. Certainly the most divisive issue surrounds the whole question of the composition (if not also the existence) of the Deuteronomic "school." Is the distinctive Deuteronomic style and content to be traced back directly to public exhortation to covenant renewal ceremonies, or does it derive from the creative scribal pen? Is the sociological and ideological base to be located in offshoots of the prophetic movement, or in gnomic circles which thrived on a more secular humanism? These are the major issues which Weinfeld has raised. One may certainly question whether or not his emphasis on a sapiential provenance becomes reductionistic; one may also suspect a new form of the old stereotyped dichotomy between priest and prophet, bolstered in part by Weinfeld's close relative dating of D and P. Nevertheless, the book is full of illuminating discussions of numerous biblical texts and a wide range of topics, from philology to theology. Indeed, one suspects that Weinfeld himself is something of the Renaissance sage! However controversial, his emphasis on the humanistic side of the Deuteronomic school is a healthy corrective to an understanding of the entire Deuteronomic reform and Dt itself as the products of an exclusively theological movement. An understanding of "the book of the Torah" as an ideal national constitution (p. 170f) whose primary purpose is equitable and just civil laws, helps to place Deuteronomy and the "school" which produced it in proper historical (and theological) context. If Deuteronomy does not represent a volume of sermons delivered by fiery preachers, but instead a tome of sober reflections by scholarly scribes, this reviewer will be the last to complain!

THOMAS W. MANN

The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, ed. by Colin Brown. (Vol. I: A-F). Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975. Pp. 822. \$24.95.

The famous ten-volume Kittel-Friedrich *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* has prompted the publication of several similar types of dictionary, whether one-volume summaries or (like the present volume) those of intermediate range. The present work, the

first volume of what is promised to be a three-volume set, is of especial interest to the working minister who needs a reliable tool that focuses upon the thought of New Testament writers. Unlike Kittel-Friedrich, which presents rather extensive research into the usage of words in Classical Greek and in the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Old Testament, the present work offers only a brief summary of this kind of information, using the space saved for the discussion of the meanings and usages of a given word in the several parts of the New Testament.

In another respect also the present work differs from Kittel-Friedrich: it looks at a cluster of terms rather than isolating each one individually. Thus the three Greek words that mean "exhort," "warn," "console," and "rebuke" are dealt with in one article, also in another article the five Greek words that mean "foreknowledge," "providence," and "predestination." This feature not only enables the author to economize on space, but, more important, enables the user to appreciate differences in nuances of meaning among similar terms.

Most of the articles in this dictionary were written originally in German; they have been supplemented, however, in two respects. A certain number of additional articles have been supplied, and, in the case of those that have been translated, the editor has frequently added a bibliography that lists only titles of works in English.

An index of words in the original languages (transliterated) and a general index of English words and concepts make it easy for the user to find and to appropriate the treasures that are presented throughout the volume.

It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes of this valuable tool will soon be made available in English.

BRUCE M. METZGER

C. H. Dodd: Interpreter of the New Testament, by F. W. Dillistone. Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 255. \$11.95.

When Charles Harold Dodd died in September 1973 at the age of 91, he was honored in a memorial service in Westminster Abbey—a historic and unique event for a Free

Church minister. Generally acknowledged to be the *doyen* of New Testament scholars in Britain, he had spent a lifetime devoted to teaching at Mansfield College, Oxford, and at the Universities of Manchester and Cambridge. The author of more than twenty books, his service to biblical scholarship was crowned by serving as Joint Director of the Committee that produced the New English Bible (1970). What is perhaps less well-known is the period of his earlier life when he gained experience in the pastoral ministry, serving a Congregational church in Warwick. It was here that he learned the art of presenting Christian truths in clear and simple language.

The author of this discerning biography, himself a sensitive and knowledgeable theologian, has produced a fascinating account of the many-sided activity of C. H. Dodd. Besides having immersed himself in most of the books written by Dodd and having drawn upon the memories of more than a score of Dodd's former colleagues and associates, Dillistone had available also the several diaries Dodd had kept throughout much of his lifetime. As a result, the biography provides descriptive accounts of Dodd's scholarly contributions, placed within the framework of personal and domestic life, and often illuminated by apposite quotations from the diaries themselves.

Since most of the readers of this review are acquainted with at least several of Dodd's significant publications (and his final volume, the little paperback *The Founder of Christianity*, should by no means be overlooked), the reviewer need not rehearse Dodd's rich legacy to New Testament scholarship. Instead, readers may be interested in several details concerning Dodd's idiosyncrasies recorded by Dillistone but not otherwise generally known. Slight in build and weighing about one hundred pounds, Dodd would sit on a high chair in his study and have students visiting him sit on a very low chair opposite. Talented in many respects (including music), Dodd appears to have been almost totally lacking in mechanical know-how; on one occasion he was seen pushing back and forth an electric vacuum cleaner, without having plugged in the cord at the outlet! Keenly interested in the chickens in his hen-house, he would often sing to them in order to encourage them to lay more eggs.

As for the deficiencies of both Dodd and Dillistone, it is generally acknowledged that the former, despite his command of historical and literary sources bearing on the background of the Fourth Gospel (on which his two major books concentrated), the attention that he devoted in this connection to the Dead Sea Scrolls was totally inadequate. The chief deficiency of Dillistone's book (the lapse on p. 200 in calling Raymond E. Brown a Jesuit can be overlooked) is the author's passing over Dodd's book, *According to the Scriptures* (except for a casual mention of its title on p. 117; it is not listed in the index). This volume, which contains the Stone Lectures delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1950, has been generally regarded as providing a significant step beyond his earlier book, *The Apostolic Preaching*. Besides being praised by technical New Testament scholars, it was described by Alec Vidler in an editorial in the Church of England journal *Theology* for March 1953 as "an excellent piece of Bible study for anyone to undertake during Lent, except that it is no sort of a penance!"

BRUCE M. METZGER

Can We Trust the New Testament?, by John A. T. Robinson. Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 142. \$1.95 (paper).

Above the Battle: The Bible and Its Critics, by Harry R. Boer. Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 109. \$2.95 (paper).

These two small paperbacks in some ways are miles apart, and yet in others they possess fascinating similarities. Both titles are in the form of questions, but once one understands the questions being asked, they show the different starting point and purpose each has. Robinson is asking whether or not Christians can accept the New Testament now for a valid guide on how to live or even for an exact "photograph" of Jesus, but for a trustworthy "portrait" of Christ. Boer is asking whether or not the Bible (he actually discusses the N.T. throughout, not the whole Bible) is above the battle, i.e., immune to the type of scholarly criticism afforded other books. Robinson answers "yes" to his own question: despite the findings of Biblical

criticism—some valid and some not—the Christian can with integrity and without fooling him/herself (this seems to be his main thrust) rely on the New Testament. Boer answers "no" to his own question: The Bible is not above the battle; as a human book (and divine) it belongs in the battle, and when put under fire, the weapons/tools of biblical criticism do not wound it—for it defends itself more than adequately.

Whereas Robinson directs his question principally to the person who might answer "no" to the title and seeks to reassure him/her, Boer addresses his to those who would say "yes" and challenges them to growth. Robinson's main point is to provide grounds for trusting the New Testament in face of the doubt-producing criticism to which scholars subject it, but he also asks those naive in regard to Biblical criticism to wake up to some facts. Boer's main point is to encourage those who see "infallible" as signifying only inerrancy—nothing more and nothing deeper—to look again and more deeply and so liberate themselves from their restricting perspective, but he also wants to discourage anyone's giving up all trust in the Bible just because so-called errors can and must be seen.

Both Robinson and Boer are writing for the church at large—for the laity—though both include special pleas for the non-lay person, Boer for his fellow missionaries in Africa and elsewhere (that reconciliation about the meaning of "infallibility" occur to avoid the disputes of the Western world) and Robinson for his fellow pastors (he being both teacher and pastor) to help bridge the gap "between professor and pulpit and pew" (p. 12). (One gap or two? Purposely ambiguous?) It is interesting that both are convinced that the laity should be exposed to scholarly views and can be trusted to handle them far more than most seem to assume. (It was the public reaction to his *Honest to God* that convinced Robinson of the lay person's ability and trustworthiness to think for him/herself, as expressed in his article "The Debate Continues").

Particularly fascinating about the relation between these two "popular" books is that both authors are strongly urging that the Bible be understood for what it is—that one come to terms with it, meet it on its own terms, and thereby recognize it as a "faithful" record (Robinson); that one accept that

the Bible comes out of a "believing community," was written for the same, by the same, and so belongs chiefly to the same (Boer). Both want their readers to see the original intention and context of the New Testament, to see that it was not intended as "historical fact" in the simple sense of the term, but as interpretation, in part as "history really entered into" (Robinson). Both writers ask their readers to trust the New Testament, but in a new way; they dare their readers to grow.

Robinson's: Almost fifteen years ago Robinson challenged the Church to review and renew the words it has used to talk about God as it communicated him to the modern world. In a sense we, as Christians, were "on trial"—or perhaps the ancient language of creeds were. (Of course a quick verdict of "not guilty" could be granted the words, since they never claimed immortality for themselves!) Now Robinson ostensibly puts the New Testament "on trial"—or is it again we who are being tried?

After inviting the reader "to trust, to go hand in hand with the scholar to the New Testament, to see what he is up to and watch him as he goes about his work" (p. 9) (trust *whom?*—Robinson?—God?—not clear), he sketches out four prevalent views found among Christians, often, of course, in mixed form. He cleverly and realistically describes and analyzes these attitudes, and any reader can find him/herself being both mirrored and judged in at least one of them, whether (i) "the cynicism of the foolish," (ii) "the fundamentalism of the fearful," (iii) "the skepticism of the wise," or (iv) "the conservatism of the committed" (pp. 13-29). (Robinson seems to identify himself with iv—and also iii). He smartly begins on an appealing note, for a reader wants to read on about him/herself!—whether he's the foolish person who gives up believing anything just because some points should rightly be doubted, or the person fearful of having his faith shaken and so closes his mind to any new views or doubts, or the person who has become so wise in his scholarly ways that he becomes unduly sceptical about any valid means of discerning historical matter in the New Testament, or the committed person who listens to the critics but accepts only what confirms his own belief in the Bible's truthfulness. Each of these readers is challenged.

Robinson continues by discussing three causes for doubt which should be acknowledged and which are legitimate factors for sensing some uneasiness in accepting the New Testament unquestioningly: the gap between Jesus' Aramaic words and the New Testament's Greek ones; the gap between the Greek words originally written and those in the text(s) now available; and the gap between the Greek words of the New Testament and our English ones. He is reassuring about all these gaps, as he also is in the following chapter (III) about the validity and usefulness of the scholar's tools, those of textual criticism (somewhat repetitious of preceding chapter, of course), source criticism, form criticism, and redaction. (He does believe, however, that some "greatly inflated claims" have been made for redaction criticism [p. 54] and that it is more the questions that form criticism has asked—i.e., about the Church's use of New Testament material and traditions—than its actual findings that are significant [p. 50]). All in all, he is optimistic about our being able to distinguish by way of these tools between what Jesus said (his "distinctive voice" even if not his "actual words" [p. 32]) and what reflects that Church's subsequent adaptation.

In his fourth chapter Robinson discusses another gap ("The Generation Gap") which would seem to lessen the New Testament credibility—the passage of time between event, Jesus' life, and record, the New Testament writings. It is here Robinson contributes his most radical views. His presentation on the dating and authorship of the New Testament writings is full of surprises, e.g., James was written by James the brother of the Lord ca. 47; Hebrews was written ca. 67; Acts was written ca. 62; II Timothy was written by Paul ca. 58; and the Synoptics were written over much the same time period so that any one of the three, or even John, is as apt as the next to present the earliest form of a story (pp. 49-76). (These views have been discussed in detail by Robinson in his *Dating the New Testament*, Westminster Press, 1976). Even if his views on dating and authorship should not stand up in the long run, i.e., not gain the support of colleagues or others, he has rightfully brought to light and into question the sometimes flimsy and often "presupposition-filled" sort of evidence normally used for supporting late dating and

non-traditional authorship. Were his views ever accepted (and this reviewer does not think they will or should be, but hopes that the challenge will be met and not ridiculed), would not, in a sense, years of scholarly work would go down the drain? One almost feels, however, that Robinson is more concerned that scholars reinvestigate their assumptions and restate their arguments than that they or the Church at large accept his radical, attractive-to-many (as he himself admits) views. In regard to just one example, his dating of Acts at 62, he believes that one should assume the obvious, i.e., that the book ends where events stood at the time it was written. One wonders, however, in this point as in others whether Robinson has not given the Early Church too much credit in allowing the development of its theological reflection and expression to have occurred over too short a time. The "claims" of redaction criticism may, it is granted, be at times "inflated," (a truth applicable to many a new insight and resulting process), but its insights surely cannot be overlooked. And does one ignore studies on style (II Timothy)? And what about James; does one ignore its polemical nature—or simply assume a need for it even at an early stage?

In his chapters on "Who is this man?" and "What came of him?"—the kernel questions to his mind of caring at all about the New Testament's trustworthiness—Robinson makes some valuable contributions. He succeeds in uncovering the/an underlying meaning of a title such as "Son of Man" and does a fine job of relating some Christological parts of the gospels (e.g., the Matthaean, Lukan and Johannine "prologues") to the Church's search for answers and ways to express them. By explaining these points, he helps direct his readers today to feel free and to be able to reexpress beliefs of the New Testament in meaningful language for today (an underlying objective of his book [p. 9]—and so one is back with *Honest to God's* concern). A reader can truly admire Robinson for his discussion on the resurrection of Christ, even though one is left both confused and gratified at times, e.g., when he supports the importance of the empty tomb but allows that the body may well have been taken by someone (p. 124). (Also, his statement that "the finding of the grave empty was not invented" by the early Church and that that discovery "neither

created belief nor was created by it" [p. 123], one is left confused). For Robinson "the most incontrovertible historical fact of all" is "the ongoing spiritual experience" of the Early Church, the "corporate spiritual awareness of Christ no longer as a dead memory, however vivid, but as a vivifying presence," confirmed by the conviction of Christians who neither saw any empty tomb or experienced any appearances, yet believed in Christ as resurrected (pp. 126-127). To this "historical evidence" a Christian can cling (p. 129).

In Robinson's final chapter ("Trustful Faith") he concludes that the New Testament can be trusted as a "faith-ful record" (p. 130), i.e., accurate and originating in faith (he simply says "in both senses of that phrase"). He reviews the four attitudes mentioned earlier and applies his insights and conclusions to each one. His final opinion on the relationship between scholarship and faith, that the former does not "give" faith but can increase one's "confidence" that it is not "misplaced" (p. 134), echoes an interesting and worthy undercurrent existing throughout his book, namely that of the need to recognize and accept risk, not to be put off by doubts and disagreements among scholars, to realize that risk and uncertainty are necessary aspects of faith in a God committed to history (pp. 8, 27, 49, 61). Robinson shows himself entirely willing to take the risk, to discover the unexpected and sometimes the unwanted, but not to be daunted in his basic conviction; one is, to the contrary, paradoxically strengthened. Such an experience will ring true for many a person who dares to investigate on a critical level the "historical basis"—i.e., the New Testament—of his/her faith.

Undoubtedly Robinson does a fine job of exposing the laity to crucial questions and issues imperative in any consideration of the New Testament's trustworthiness. One is left somewhat bewildered, however, that such an exposure does happen to involve such radically conservative views on the dating of the New Testament. (Has the exposure in that area been, then, a real one after all?) One has some regrets that a book which explores reasons for doubt and bases for assurance should include views on early dating. One cannot help wishing that the author had ended up with the same strength of conviction without having so drastically (and

unjustifiably?) narrowed the event-record gap. Surely and hopefully a reader can share the author's conviction, and benefit from it, a wider gap notwithstanding.

So, in the long run, is Robinson putting the New Testament on trial—or us? When he writes (p. 112) that we should learn “to trust the New Testament for what it is trying to say, rather than for what it is not trying to say” (in regard to not taking its words literally) and when he says we can trust the New Testament as long as we come to it on its terms and ask of it not “prosaic or scientific” questions of “How?” but “meaningful and interpretative” ones of “Why?”, is he not putting us on trial? Is he not challenging us to see the New Testament for what it is and to allow its truth to be communicated to others to whom New Testament vocabulary becomes an obstacle? Yes, and rightly so.

Boer's: Throughout his book Boer deals with a semantic question. He acknowledges that Christians understand the word “infallible” as applied to the Bible in two different ways: no errors, no contradictions (conservatives); unbreakable validity (non-conservatives). He grants that conservatives normally accept lower criticism of the Bible (i.e., textual criticism) and so asks them to justify rejecting higher criticism; why are methods acceptable when used to arrive at original words but unacceptable when used to arrive at their meaning? he asks (p. 29). (In his discussion on textual criticism he makes an error worth noting, especially since what prompted his misunderstanding often does so for others. Boer has failed to understand the function of double brackets in the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament, for they do not denote *doubt* [as do single brackets] but on the contrary *certainty*, certainty that a reading is *not* the earliest one, but recognition that that reading has been significant for the Church and is indeed old [see p. x of “Introduction”]. Consequently UBS editors have not changed their opinion between the 1st and 3rd editions when Luke 22:43-44 is taken from the footnotes and put into the text, in double brackets, or when John 7:53-8:11 is taken from the end of John and put instead in its “chronological order,” the place at which most MSS that include it do have it. Their view as to non-originality remains the same). When Boer compares the person who accepts lower criticism but refuses higher to the biologist accepting zoology but

rejecting botany, one wishes he had employed a more apt analogy! (Granted both zoology and botany share the concept of “life” as lower and higher criticism share certain principles, but one is led to think that the former depends on and even devours the latter—or other clearly unintended inferences!).

As Robinson, Boer explores synoptic criticism and unveils the unmistakable contradictions within parallel stories. He asks whether it is right that the Bible's infallibility be dependent on our ability to harmonize it or in some other way to rationalize its clear discrepancies. The Bible's infallibility is an elusive quality, he maintains, and one that cannot be demonstrated, similar to the incarnation of the Lord, the combining of the divine and human—the absolute and relative (p. 85). He takes a chapter to discuss Jesus' own view towards the Scriptures (OT) as infallible and also towards his own words. He is on somewhat shaky ground here, since he is putting himself in the well-known dilemma of trying to find a criterion for evaluating the trustworthiness of a document within that very document itself! But his intention is appreciated, as is his conclusion that Jesus saw the OT as unbreakable not in the sense of inerrant propositions, but in terms of propositions “couched in the language of faith” in which truth is larger if not other than the proposition's wording itself (p. 92). (Boer is less satisfactory when he fails to distinguish between Jesus' “But I saw unto you” statements with ones of “fact,” e.g., as to where he would appear to his disciples).

Towards the end of his book Boer asks a worthwhile question of those who would argue against him on the basis of a doctrine of the Holy Spirit's inspiration of Scripture: If the Holy Spirit worked in history and used it to effect redemption, might not the Holy Spirit also work in it and use it to set forth the record of that redemptive work? (p. 104). He accuses evangelicals (his term) of being reluctant to give adequate credit to God's creative activity in history and in nature, and one applauds Boer for this.

Boer has an interesting method of meeting conservatives where they are and agreeing with their basic opinions, but showing how they themselves can logically move on from there, whether in the realm of criticism or the doctrine of creation. Such a method hopefully will have a positive effect for some—be they missionaries, pastors, lay persons—

but for other persons a total reorientation of perspective may well be necessary and have the greater and more decisive effect.

The main question one has upon finishing the book is: Is it legitimate so to broaden the meaning of the word "infallible" that it essentially takes on the connotation and significance of an entirely different word? And if so, why not use that other word, be it "trustworthy," "reliable," or whatever? In the author's desire to reconcile two groups, is he perhaps asking for too much (e.g., cake and eating both), despite good intentions?

Both books: As indicated earlier and as has become apparent, Boer and Robinson have some coinciding views and intentions, even if their starting points are quite distant from each other. Boer, as a sort of liberal conservative, writes to make conservatives more liberal and liberated; Robinson, as a sort of conservative radical, writes in part to make radicals more "conservative." The goal of both books is quite parallel: the opening of the mind to new ideas—"old facts"—as to what the New Testament is; the waking up of the laity (those asleep, that is) as to what the New Testament was and is intended to be and must be for the Church. Both books ask people not to shy away from critical views but to use them to grow in one's faith and understanding of it—and one's communicating of it to non-Christians, once-Christians, and becoming-Christians. There is a gap to be bridged and a semantic problem to be solved, and these books will help.

ELIZABETH G. EDWARDS

John, The Maverick Gospel, by Robert Kysar. John Knox Press, Atlanta, Ga., 1976. Pp. 118. \$4.95.

As an introductory guide to the Fourth Gospel, this book has no peer. In little more than 100 pages, Robert Kysar leads us through the themes, symbolism and chief enigmas of this, the most enigmatic of New Testament narratives. The guide, intended for serious lay adults, is marked by clarity and deftness throughout. It is never burdened with technical matters that would detract from the biblical text, yet beneath the surface it is informed by the best in Johannine scholarship at every turn, by the work of Barrett, Bultmann and Käsemann, and especially by the

work of the present generation of American scholars—Brown, Fortna, Martyn, Meeks—who have taken over leadership in the field. The result is a luminous piece of popularizing, trustworthy and provocative.

This gospel is a "maverick" for Kysar in the sense that it stands well outside the mainstream of early Christian writing. It draws on oral material largely independent of the synoptic tradition. It addresses an isolated group of Christians, recently expelled from the synagogue. Yet the gospel's distinctiveness lies principally in its symbolism and ideas. Its incarnational Christology, its dualistic conception of reality, its experiential understanding of faith and its realized eschatology are all touchstones of innovation. Kysar devotes most of the study to these four topics, scrutinizing in each case how the evangelist remolds traditional concepts to express his community's convictions and to meet its needs.

Study groups should find the book easy to use. It puts the reader in dialogue with the text by listing pertinent passages and key questions for each topic at hand. In this way most of the gospel is covered by the end. The chief exception is the passion narrative. Though Kysar suggests at one point that "the passion story in John is the story of the king going to his coronation," he does not follow up that suggestion with a sustained treatment of the way the Johannine Christ dies. Except for that one oversight, the book strikes a sharp blow for the cause of biblical literacy among adults of all ages. We need a raft of study guides like it.

DAVID R. ADAMS

C. S. Lewis: The Shape of His Faith and Thought, by Paul L. Holmer. Harper & Row, Pub., New York, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 116. \$3.95.

"The Christian literature does not merely propose a doctrine to be believed nor a policy to be espoused. If that were the only way Christianity could be advanced among us, its appeal would be only to those who could think big ideas and entertain vast plans. Instead, Lewis addresses all of us where we are, faltering and stumbling, uncertain of what we should do or be. We are all open to a promise, poised for a great happiness, and already eligible for the

sweeping away of the shadows of guilt and disappointment. Maybe our moral life, bumbling as it might have been, might have given us enough sorrow about ourselves to seek a way out. Maybe, too, we have hoped a little and discovered the vanity of much of our wishing. Christianity deepens those misgivings about ourselves into repentance and that fitful expectation into an encompassing hope. These things are, again, capabilities that have to be articulated and then strengthened in us. For Lewis this is the way Christian literature, even Jesus' teaching and early discipleship, ought to work. So he does it. The novels bear the same point for all of us. There we see the psychomachia happening in others. And critical literature never lets us forget how literature can really work in us. All of his work seems to have a common shape" (p. 21).

These remarks certainly fit Holmer's own understanding of Christianity, and he convinces me that it is appropriate to evaluate the works of C. S. Lewis from this perspective. But I wonder if this perspective is just that—a perspective from which to view the writings of C. S. Lewis. This is not a charge, but only a question; for I have read only a few of Lewis' books. But I have heard many of Holmer's ideas expressed before (and profited greatly from them) apart from C. S. Lewis. The stress on the development of human capacities, which are the necessary soil for the reception of the gospel, the rejection of "large theories" in preference for the particularities of human life, the metaphorical use of the word "grammar" are so distinctive of Holmer that they lead me to wonder how well they fit C. S. Lewis. A much more extensive knowledge of Lewis' work would be necessary to answer that question, so I have to leave it at that.

Holmer's opening chapter seeks to account for Lewis' remarkable appeal to such a large audience. He locates it in Lewis' great understanding of people—of their wishes, desires, aspirations, and failures—and the ability to so portray them that we are not only entertained but are also affected and become more developed as people. I think this is true of Lewis, but I doubt if this is why he is so widely read at present, certainly in this country. I think he appeals to people who believe

in Christianity and are troubled by what they consider to be anti-Christian views, and who find themselves reassured by Lewis. This is especially true of evangelicals, who are not particularly noted for a deep or rich understanding of either human nature or the gospel. Lewis did indeed, as Holmer insists, seek "to break through the conventional framework of current thinking that will otherwise keep us shallow and trivial" (p. 17). But unfortunately many of Lewis' greatest fans are just that. It is not only the academic community that deserves to have brickbats hurled at it for its misappropriation of Christianity—although many of the missiles are well and truly aimed.

One other thing troubles me. There is indeed something and something important, which Holmer refers to as "ordinary reasoning and ordinary life." The problem is that they are no longer so ordinary. A society in which great numbers of people are *not* sheltered from the weather, from shortages of food, and from physical labor does develop a wisdom and capacities in which the words of scripture can find a place. But many of us live in a very sheltered world, and what was once so ordinary is now extraordinary. This is one of the problems of contemporary literature: it is driven toward the allegorical tale, as was Lewis, in order to present good and evil, innocence and sin, and above all genuine adventure. Ordinary life is artificial and neurotic, and contemporary writing that is naturalistic shares its preoccupations. It takes a remarkable writer and indeed a remarkable person to be "ordinary."

Still the overwhelming impression of the book is one of great integrity of thought and life on the part of both Lewis and Holmer; for what you see, when it is a matter of moral and spiritual truth, is directly proportionate to your own character. Holmer shows us so much of the shape of Lewis' "faith and thought" precisely because of his own.

DIOGENES ALLEN

Church and Society in England 1770-1970: A Historical Study, by Edward Robert Norman. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976. Pp. 507. £15.

The author of this book, Dr. E. R. Norman, Dean of Peter-house College, Cam-

bridge, states its theme and purpose thus: "This book is about the attitudes of the Church of England to English society and its problems over a period of nearly two centuries; it is about the church's social and economic teaching; and because the control and welfare of society and calculations for social change and social stability require collective action, it is about the Christian attitude to politics, the relationship of Church and State, of law and public morality" (p. 6). He makes it clear that his book is "not concerned with what the people thought about religion or the church, except to the extent that they looked to the church for certain social functions" (p. 6). Furthermore, it concentrates on England, taking account of conditions in the rest of the British Isles "only to the extent that they introduced variants into the English debate" (p. 7); and within England, it focuses on the Anglican Church, ignoring Protestant Non-Conformity and Roman Catholicism.

After considering the church's social outlook towards the end of the 18th century, Dr. Norman analyzes the situation which existed during the first thirty years of the 19th Century. During this period some leaders of Anglican social thought were deeply affected by the prevailing Political Economy, which at that time was predominantly individualistic and *laissez-faire* in outlook; and this group of leaders "exerted an influence quite out of proportion to their numbers" (p. 43). They were more concerned to erect new church buildings to accommodate the masses who were crowding into the burgeoning industrial cities, than to address themselves to social and economic problems. During the Victorian Age—i.e., from the 1830's to the end of the 19th Century—the social stance of Anglican leadership changed in a more collectivist direction. This was the period of the "Christian Socialism" of Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice which was active from 1848 to 1854; and it saw the formation in 1889 of the Christian Social Union, whose members included Bishops B. F. Westcott and Charles Gore and eventually Archbishop William Temple. The first two decades of the 20th Century witnessed what Norman calls "the permeation of the leadership of the Church of England by the ideals and attitudes previously largely confined to the enthusiasts of the Christian Social Union (p.

221)—and this despite the hesitations of men like Archbishop R. T. Davidson and the opposition of Bishop H. H. Henson and Dean W. R. Inge. This social radicalism continued during the 1920's and 1930's and found concrete public expression in the famous COPEC Conference of 1924, whose main exponent was its chairman, William Temple. The Great Depression of the early 1930's and the rise of such anti-democratic movements and Fascism and Communism injected a more soberly realistic note into Anglican social concern during the 1940's and 1950's—as witnessed for example at the Malvern Conference of 1941. But the 1960's saw much questioning of traditionally accepted Christian ideas—for example in the "Honest to God" theology of Bishop John Robinson, and the "situation ethics" of men like Robinson and Harry Williams, Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge. During this decade all sorts of unconventional social viewpoints found expression—as, for example, in Hugh Montefiore's suggestion that Jesus may have been a homosexual, a possibility considered also by Robinson. But even when such unorthodox opinions were being ventilated by some Anglican leaders, "the quiet part of the nation still respected the basic principles of Christian morality in which they and their parents have been brought up" (p. 418).

From Dr. Norman's massive survey several conclusions seem clear. For one thing, the Church of England has never—at least during the past two centuries—been as indifferent to social concerns as its critics, and even some of its members have tried to assert. During the later 19th century and the early 20th it was almost an accepted axiom that during the 18th and early 19th centuries the Church of England had studiously held apart from social involvement. Norman's book should set this myth to rest once and for all; for he sights proof of the fact that the Anglican Church has never ceased to interest itself in the social concerns of its citizens—and that in certain areas—for instance education and housing—it has made a solid practical contribution. Again, Norman's book seems to show that Anglican social attitudes have been derived primarily not from theological principles, but rather from the climate of opinion which prevailed among the intelligentsia of the social class to which the Anglican clergy belonged. As this climate of opinion has

changed, so have Anglican social attitudes. Again, the Church of England has deliberately refrained from identification with any political party. It has been content to expound what it believes to be relevant Christian principles, but has stopped short of endorsing partisan legislative measures. Thus, though many Anglican clergy have been conservative in their political viewpoint, the Church of England has never been "the Tory Party at prayer"; and though some clerical leaders, such as Temple and Robinson, have been radical in their outlook, the Anglican Church is not the Labor Party at its devotions. Doubtless such refusal to be identified with any party platform has limited the church's social influence; but it is surely wise, inasmuch as the Anglican Church numbers in its fellowship members of all political parties and of none.

The major lesson to be learned from Dr. Norman's book is this, that during the past 200 years the Church of England has sought conscientiously to discharge its primary religious responsibility to the English people, namely, to provide the ordinances of public worship and pastoral ministry, but also to take account of human need at all levels, physical and mental as well as spiritual.

NORMAN V. HOPE

Religion in America, by George C. Bedell, Leo Sandon, Jr., Charles T. Wellborn. Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., New York, N.Y., 1975. Pp. 538. \$11.95.

There are several admirable volumes which relate the history of religion in America, for example, those of W. W. Sweet, Clifton E. Olmstead, Winthrop S. Hudson, and Sydney E. Ahlstrom. This book, however, is different in character. It does not present a chronological survey of America's religious history; rather, it concerns itself with what its authors call "a set of significant factors or motifs that can be used as keys to understanding the forces that have shaped American religion: the public or civil religion of Americans, disestablishment and religious liberty, revivalism, indigenous religious groups, theology or religious thought, missions and humanitarian endeavors, Black religion, inter-

faith and ecumenical relations, and contemporary trends in American religion" (p. vi). The authors devote a chapter to each of these motifs, first analyzing its meaning, and then presenting a brief historical sketch of its development on the American scene.

Certain features of the book are worthy of note. For one thing, it covers just about every kind of religious experience and expression which has surfaced in the course of American history. Of course it deals with the three major religious traditions—Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish—which have predominated in American religious history. But it also describes the major cults which have emerged indigenously on American soil—Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Mormons and the Adventists; it gives an account of so-called Civil Religion of America, besides such contemporary esoteric cults as the Divine Light Mission of Maharaj Ji and the Process Church of the Final Judgment. It also devotes a chapter to Black religion in America.

Again, this book includes a well chosen selection of basic documents in the American religious heritage, if not *en toto*, at any rate in significant excerpts. Thus, for example, it gives extracts from Roger Williams' *Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience*, Jonathan Edwards' *Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, and such twentieth century documents as Harry E. Fosdick's sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win?," Eugene Carson Blake's "Proposal toward the Reunion of Christ's Church," and Martin Luther King's "Letter From Birmingham Jail."

Again, this book in its quotations and footnotes refers to some classic secondary studies on American religious history—for example, Richard Niebuhr's "Social Sources of Denominationalism" and "The Kingdom of God in America"; Reinhold Niebuhr's "Pious and Secular America"; and Will Herberg's "Protestant—Catholic—Jew." The book's readers, therefore, have some incentive to deepen and enrich their knowledge of American religious history by studying these classic volumes for themselves.

The book is clear and well informed in its exposition, and balanced and judicious in its judgments. In their preface the authors say that they hoped to design a book that would be useful in several academic settings, the

public or non-sectarian institution as well as the seminary or denominational college. It must be said that they have succeeded in this endeavor, and it is to be hoped that their excellent book will be widely used.

NORMAN V. HOPE

A Pope for All Christians, ed. by Peter J. McCord. Paulist Press, New York/Paramus/Toronto, 1976. Pp. 212. \$7.50.

There can be little doubt that one of the most serious difficulties in the way of reunion between Roman Catholicism and other Christian churches is the papacy: indeed Pope Paul VI has bluntly stated that "the pope—as we all know—is undoubtedly the gravest obstacle in the path of ecumenism."

Nor is this situation difficult to understand. Non-Catholic Christians, though they may admit that Peter enjoyed a special relationship to Jesus and occupied a unique place among the Apostles (Mt. 16:18,19), are skeptical of the claim that the present-day Pope is the successor of Peter in any recognizable sense; and even if he is, they see little reason to believe that Jesus intended the Bishop of Rome to exercise the "Petrine function" in the Church. Nor has the papacy always done much to commend itself as an exemplar of Christian humility and charity: too often it has sought to dominate and exploit rather than to serve. Finally, the first Vatican Council (1869-70), by decreeing that the pope, when he speaks *ex cathedra* on questions of faith and morals, is infallible, has further complicated the ecumenical problem, since many non-Catholics find it difficult, not to say impossible, to believe in such infallibility.

In this volume representatives of the major non-Roman Catholic Christian traditions—Anglican, Baptist, Eastern Orthodox, Lutheran, Reformed, and Methodist—have stated with candor the attitude of their particular communions to the question of the papacy; and the eminent Jesuit, Father Avery Dulles, has discussed the question of the papacy from a Catholic point of view.

From these frank statements certain things concerning the papacy are clear. First, some Protestant bodies—the Baptists in particular—have no use for any kind of papacy. Second, most of the other Christian churches

might be prepared to concede to the Bishop of Rome a primacy of honor in the church provided (a) this primacy was interpreted as pastoral rather than magisterial, as implying service rather than domination; (b) it were exercised on a collegial basis—that is, in consultation not only with the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, but also with representatives of the other Christian groups; and (c) if papal infallibility were so understood as not to impose any theological strait-jacket upon the minds and consciences of church members.

Father Dulles' learned and well-argued paper makes the point that though Roman Catholic dogmas will not be rescinded, they can and indeed must be reinterpreted in each successive generation. Thus the Papal primacy might be so reinterpreted as to make it more appealing to non-Catholics, who might wish to recognize in the papacy an office which would have great value as symbolizing and safeguarding the international unity of the Church in which there is "neither Jew nor Greek."

So, though at present the papacy represents a major difficulty to ecumenical progress, it is not at all impossible that this problem might ultimately be resolved to the satisfaction of at least the majority of the non-Catholic churches. This book suggests the lines along which this accord is most likely to be reached.

NORMAN V. HOPE

Freedom and Authority, by Gerald R. Cragg. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1975. Pp. 334. \$15.00.

The name of Gerald R. Cragg is well known as the author of *From Puritanism to the Age of Reason*, an able survey of changes in religious thought in the Church of England from the Restoration in 1660 to the end of the 17th Century. In this most recent book, *Freedom and Authority*, he analyzed and described the changes in English religious thought during the first forty years of the 17th Century, from the reign of James the First in 1603 to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. (Dr. Cragg died in 1976).

During this period the major problem which confronted thinking Englishmen was the relation of traditional established author-

ity to the legitimate and ever growing claims of personal freedom.

It was an age in which religion and politics were inextricably intermingled. For one thing, all bishops of the Church of England were appointed by the monarch, who expected them to uphold all his claims to supreme authority both in Church and State. For another, Roman Catholics owed religious obedience to the Pope, and political loyalty to the King. Hence, should Pope and King disagree, their Roman Catholic subjects had to decide which loyalty should have priority.

In these circumstances it was only to be expected that the question of the relation of authority to freedom would be argued in the realm of both politics and religion. In politics it focused on the claim of the King to undefined prerogative rights against the opposition of lawyers like Sir Edward Coke, who maintained that the royal prerogative was limited by the common law of the realm, as expressed in such documents as Magna Carta.

In the religious sphere, the champions of the Elizabethan settlement of the Church of England had to support their position against Roman Catholics on the right and Puritan dissenters on the left. They sought to defend the Anglican *via media* by appealing, as Richard Hooker had done, to the Bible; tradition (particularly the tradition of the undivided Church of the first six centuries of the Christian era); and what Matthew Arnold would have called "sweet reasonableness." But not surprisingly, this position was hotly contested by Roman Catholic apologists, who stigmatized Anglicanism as a latter-day heresy which had seriously departed from sound Catholic truth.

On the other side, the Puritans contended that the Church of England was not adequately reformed according to biblical standards and that its clergy were far too worldly-minded. Some puritan ministers remained within the Anglican establishment, hoping to transform it from within, and meanwhile diligently seeking to build up the membership of their congregations in properly disciplined Christian righteousness. But other Puritans, who could not conscientiously conform to the Church of England, left it and set up independent churches of their own. Of these Separatists some went to the Netherlands; and from their number the Mayflower emigrants were recruited. Others, however,

remained in England in underground fashion without official sanction and always subject to persecution; and they were among the most eloquent and forceful advocates of religious toleration and freedom.

These political and religious controversies were conducted with much passion throughout the period covered by Dr. Cragg's book. It is doubtful that many were converted by argument; and since authority was in the saddle, ruling with a heavy hand—particularly King Charles I and his henchmen, Strafford and Laud—the exponents of freedom did not achieve much public success at the time. Their tracts and pamphlets, however, helped to pave the way for the relative toleration of the Cromwell inter-regnum of 1649-1660, and eventually for the Toleration Act of 1689.

Dr. Cragg's book describes these controversies with the authority of one who has mastered the official sources, as well as the most important secondary works; and since his judgments are balanced and sound, he has made an important contribution to the proper understanding of the period with which he deals.

NORMAN V. HOPE

Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation, by Thomas N. Tentler. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1977. Pp. 395. \$25.00.

Protestants have often dismissed the whole Roman Catholic gamut of auricular confession, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Penitentials (directories for confessors) as either the return of legalism to a religion of grace, or as the quantification of sin and therefore of grace, or, again, as giving not consolation but ground for further torture for the sinner who can never count fully on absolution. Catholics, for their part, have accused Protestants of despising grace by counting on it without contrition or making reparation; by presuming on justification by faith without a disciplined sense of its supposed correlate—sanctification; and through the vagueness and variety of Protestant teaching on forgiveness of sins of refusing consolation to the tormented soul.

In this "the ecumenical century" it is well worth examining the traditional Catholic understanding of forgiveness as expressed in the

Sacrament of Penance, as post-Vatican II Catholics have indeed been doing. It seems important that Protestants should do the same, for it should be remembered that Luther at the beginning of his Reform retained Confession as a Sacrament of the Gospel, so integral to the latter did he believe forgiveness to remain.

For such a re-examination one could not do better than read the work under review. For Professor Tentler of the History Department of the University of Michigan has written a carefully researched study of the theory and practice of auricular confession and of the sacrament of penance as developed in the later Middle Ages. He analyses the various major penitential directories with their categories of sins and penalties, and provides a most judicious conclusion. This justifiably corrects the claim of H. C. Lea that Catholic teaching was a confusion of competing casuistries. More wisely, he asserts that for Catholics and Protestants the difficulties are to be found in the competing claims of discipline and consolation. His fairness to Luther is not the least virtue of this study which requires discipline for the general reader, but offers the illumination of consolation at the end.

HORTON DAVIES

Princeton University

Paul Tillich: His Life and Thought (Vol. I: Life), by Wilhelm & Marion Pauck. Harper & Row, Pub., New York, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 340.

Recently Paul Tillich has been the object of considerable literary attention. Books by his wife, Hannah, *From Time to Time* (Stein & Day, 1973), and his student and friend, Rollo May, *Paulus* (Harper & Row, 1973), have prompted interest in both Tillich's theological thought and development and his personal life. These "biographies," though, are actually more like intimate memoirs than they are objective, critical assessments of Tillich's life and thought. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that one learns more about Hannah Tillich in *From Time to Time* than one does about her husband. Since he died only twelve years ago, it well may be that we should not expect anything other than memoirs about Tillich. It may be too early to

look for a critical appraisal of him, but these memoirs by his wife and friend have stimulated a remarkable degree of public interest in him. And in many respects that is understandable. Perhaps the most attractive feature of Tillich's theology is the manner in which he engaged contemporary culture in conversation about the meaning of existence and the disclosive power of the symbols of the Christian tradition. It is not surprising that there should be more public interest in Tillich than in most other recent theologians.

In *Paul Tillich: His Life and Thought*, Wilhelm and Marion Pauck have written the closest thing yet to a balanced, critical biography of Tillich and it may have to suffice until time provides the distance necessary for a truly critical appraisal. This book is the first volume of what the Paucks plan to be a two-volume work. The first volume, written primarily by Marion Pauck, examines Tillich's life, although there are numerous allusions to his theological development and his discovery of important theological concepts. The second volume, to be written for the most part by Wilhelm Pauck, will be devoted to the development of Tillich's theology.

This biography is a friendly one. In comparison to the two recent memoirs the Pauck's portrait of Tillich is better balanced and more carefully drawn, even though the biography occasionally suggests the authors' affection for Tillich. Wilhelm Pauck was a student at Berlin when Tillich was just beginning his academic career in the 1920's, and, of course, the two were colleagues during the period they both taught at Union Theological Seminary. Yet despite their admiration of him the Paucks do not hesitate to point out what they consider the weaknesses in Tillich's character and his failures as a human being.

The Pauck's biography contains a large amount of important information about Tillich not previously available in Tillich's three brief, heavily stylized autobiographical essays. Particularly important are the discoveries the Paucks unearth about Tillich's life before he immigrated to the United States in 1933. A striking example is Tillich's service as a chaplain in the German army during the First World War. He volunteered for military service three days after his marriage to his first wife, Grethi, ending a period the Paucks aptly describe as one of "dreaming innocence." Tillich went into the war as the

son of a Lutheran pastor, the product of a stable, middle class home, educated in the best German universities for an academic career as a theologian, and four years later he came out of the war a very different creature. As the Paucks describe him, "The traditional monarchist had become a religious socialist, the Christian believer a cultural pessimist, and the repressed puritanical boy a 'wild man'" (p. 41). It was in the horror of the war, as he witnessed the mass slaughter of human beings, that Tillich found himself forced to reappraise everything. He came to the conclusion that "the traditional concept of God had become invalid" (p. 52).

Equally interesting is the picture the Paucks give us of Tillich during the Weimar period, his relation to religious socialism, and his response to the emergence of National Socialism. The Paucks also give us a glimpse of Tillich's struggles as an immigrant in this country. Tillich knew virtually nothing about the United States when he fled here from Nazi Germany, and had great difficulty learning English and adjusting to American culture. Apparently from the very beginning of his career in this country the faculty of Union Seminary raised the same questions many others have continued to ask about Tillich. Was he a philosopher who had some interesting things to say about the Christian tradition, or was he a theologian working with a new idiom and a new conception of the task and method of theology? Because of these questions it was not until 1940, when Tillich was fifty-four, that he was made a full professor by Union. Finally, in the last chapter, "The Ambiguity of Fame," the Paucks describe Tillich at the height of his career as an internationally recognized theologian of the first rank, but one who also suffered the agony and self-doubt of those who begin to believe what they hear said and see written about themselves.

The Paucks tell a good tale, an absorbing story. They succeed in capturing the reader's interest in the complexity and myriad facets of Tillich's personality and character. Yet the book is not without its faults. Much of their basic material is taken from tape recorded interviews with Tillich and several of his friends and former colleagues in this country and in Europe. Despite the Paucks' attempt at objectivity one gets occasionally the impression that the book simply reports Tillich's

interpretation of events and people. Secondly, although there are some obvious advantages to dividing the project as the Paucks have done—with one volume on Tillich's life and the other on his thought—at times the division, however, is frustrating. Tillich was not primarily an actor and a participant, but a sensitive observer and a thinker. At important points in Tillich's life the Paucks find themselves forced to allude to the relation between crucial events in Tillich's life and important concepts in his theology. Usually these allusions are too brief and the reader wants to know more about the relation between Tillich's life and his theology. That is not to say that the Paucks should have written a psycho-history of Tillich. Still, it might have been better to discuss the development of Tillich's theology at the conclusion of each major stage in his life rather than saving that subject for a separate volume.

In any case the Paucks have written a fascinating biography of one of the major theologians of this century. We wait eagerly for the second volume.

GEORGE W. STROUP

The Myth of God Incarnate, ed. by John Hick. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1977. Pp. 211. \$4.95.

When John A. T. Robinson's *Honest to God* first appeared in 1963, it prompted widespread discussion in British theological circles and in the public press. Numerous magazine articles, newspaper stories, and television and radio "talk shows" were devoted to it. Public response to the book struck many theologians as remarkably curious, for there was little in the book that was new or original. For the most part, Robinson's book was simply a summary of the previous twenty years of theological discussion, and it relied extensively on the work of Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. The furor created by the book seemed grossly out of proportion to its substance; it suggested, in the first place, that neither the Church nor its culture pay any attention to theological discussion until it is presented in sufficiently dramatic form, and, secondly, that British theologians still suffer from a parochial knowledge of the theological discussion in Germany and other parts of the world.

The Myth of God Incarnate, edited by John

Hick, is cut from the same cloth as *Honest to God*. Since its publication in 1977 it too has received the same kind of public attention as its predecessor. But it must come as something of a shock to anyone familiar with the discussion of Christology during the last two hundred years that the book has attracted such notoriety. Since the category of "myth" continues to be a red herring in theology and in the Church, no doubt the use of the word in the book's title is responsible for some of the public clamor. In the Preface to the book one finds the claim, "There is nothing new in the main theme of this book and we make no pretence to originality" (p. x). Indeed, a careful reading of the book provides ample evidence for that confession. There is little in it that is new and most of the proposals in the book have appeared elsewhere in nineteenth and twentieth century theology. And in most cases those proposals have been argued more persuasively and learnedly than they have in this volume.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, Frances Young and Michael Goulder contribute two essays each which examine different aspects of the historical background of incarnation theology. The essays are uneven in quality, but both of Young's contributions are superior to Goulder's. Goulder's first essay, "Jesus, The man of Universal Destiny," compromises the serious question that the other writers in the volume want to pose. Although he places great emphasis on the Son of Man texts in Daniel and Mark, his treatment of New Testament Christology is embarrassingly deficient; for example, he does not mention any of the recent work on Mark by Norman Perrin or any of Perrin's students. The constructive proposal Goulder offers is even worse. It sounds like a slightly warmed over version of weak nineteenth century liberalism. As Goulder sees him, Jesus, like Gandhi and King, was a man of destiny, "a leader who expresses in his whole personality the community and movement of which he is a part" (p. 55). Furthermore, Jesus' mission was to teach the primacy of *agape*, and he was "destined by God to establish the community of selfless love in the world" (p. 60). In his second essay, Goulder argues that there are two roots to the Christian myth of the incarnation: a Galilean eschatological myth, which has its origin in

the teaching of Jesus, and a Samaritan "gnostical myth," which has its origin in the Church in Simon Magus. Goulder believes he has identified the essential features of Samaritan theology and that some of them were appropriated by Paul in his arguments with Samaritan missionaries in Corinth and Ephesus. Goulder thinks that the gradual emergence in Paul's theology of a doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ is due to the influence of this Samaritan camp in the early Church. Several of Goulder's arguments in support of this thesis are less than convincing; for example, he insists that, "Although Paul preached the cross, he lacks any clear theology of it" (p. 82).

In comparison to Goulder, the two essays by Frances Young are more cautious and demand and deserve greater attention and reflection. In fact one of the problems with Young's essays, at least in the context of this volume, is that she refutes many of Goulder's arguments. While Goulder believes that Jesus consciously applied the title Son of Man to himself, Young argues that the title was given to Jesus by believers who were trying to express their sense of salvation in him (pp. 15, 17-19). She also thinks that for a variety of reasons the Christian tradition has made a serious mistake by enshrining the formulas of Nicaea and Chalcedon. Just as there are a variety of interpretations of soteriology in the Christian tradition so too there should be room for at least as many christologies. In her second essay, "Two Roots or a Tangled Mass?," Young demonstrates that numerous incarnation myths were afoot in both pagan and Jewish circles during the First Century, and that these "supernatural ways of speaking" provided the Church with language and concepts by which it could express its faith.

The second half of the book consists of essays which are primarily hermeneutical in the sense that they claim to offer constructive proposals for what should be done in light of the historical analysis of Goulder and Young. Unfortunately, the constructive essays are at least as disappointing as the essays in the first half of the book. The two most important are Maurice Wiles' essay, "Myth in Theology," and John Hick's essay, "Jesus and World Religions." Wiles is a competent and creative historian of Christian doctrine, and in this essay he traces the emergence of myth in nineteenth century theology, particu-

larly its development in David Friedrich Strauss, and the discussion of myth in contemporary theology. In the concluding section to this essay, Wiles examines the question of the relation between myth and history. Does an emphasis on myth as the appropriate form for religious discourse necessarily mean a surrender of any basis for the assertion of truth claims? Wiles thinks not. He believes there is a criterion for distinguishing between true and false interpretations of myth: "There must be some ontological truth corresponding to the central characteristic of the structure of the myth." (p. 161). However, when Wiles applies this interpretation of myth to the incarnation the results are disappointing. In Wiles' reinterpretation of the incarnation we see in Jesus, first, an openness to God, and, secondly, an attitude toward other people which was "a parable of the loving outreach of God to the world" (p. 162). Wiles' essay is disappointing for two reasons. He ducks the difficult criteriological question: it is not just a question of distinguishing between true and false *interpretations* of myth, but fundamentally a question of distinguishing between true and false myths. He also avoids the difficult hermeneutical question of the reinterpretation of the religious claim that lies behind the fifth century language of "two natures."

The real agenda for this volume of essays is found in John Hick's essay. Quite simply Hick argues that the Nicene definition of Jesus' relation to God is "only one way of conceptualizing the lordship of Jesus" (p. 168), that traditional christological language was not intended "to assert a metaphysical fact but to express a valuation and evoke an attitude" (p. 178), and that in the context of the religious pluralism of the modern world "what we cannot say is that all who are saved are saved by Jesus of Nazareth" (p. 181). Hick appeals to Gandhi as an example of his claim that the Christian message is not that there is salvation only in Jesus, but that the Christian *kerygma* should deepen and enrich existing religious traditions. What is alarming, though, about Hick's essay is the "reinterpretation" of Christology he believes necessary for dialogue with other religious traditions. In Hick's reinterpretation, Jesus was "intensely and overwhelmingly conscious of the reality of God," and "was so totally conscious of God that we could catch

something of that consciousness by spiritual contagion" (p. 172). All of this and not even a footnote to Schleiermacher!

If the intention of the contributors to this volume was to provoke a discussion of Christology and what must be done to reconstruct it in contemporary theology, then they have achieved a limited success. However, there appears to be a deep ambiguity in most of the essays. It is not clear whether the authors are calling for an abandonment of the doctrine of incarnation in favor of some other concept that "might better express the divine significance of Jesus that is intended," as Wiles puts it in his introductory essay, or whether they are calling for a reinterpretation of the doctrine of incarnation by means of categories other than those of the fourth and fifth centuries. One hopes that the latter is the case, although that is far from clear. If it is, it is unfortunate that they have been unable to give us so few new, original clues as to what a reinterpretation of the doctrine of the incarnation might resemble.

GEORGE W. STROUP

Princetonians, 1748-1768: A Biographical Dictionary, by James McLachlan. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1976. Pp. 706. \$30.00.

Graduates of Harvard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been memorialized by the superb series of volumes known as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, compiled by J. L. Sibley and C. K. Shipton. A similar service for eighteenth and early nineteenth century Yale graduates was performed by F. B. Dexter in the multi-volume *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*. Now Princeton has joined these ranks with this beautifully produced and elegantly written dictionary of Princeton alumni. Anyone interested in the history of Princeton, American Presbyterianism, or American history generally will find this book fascinating and engrossing reading. For the non-specialist, it is a perfect coffee table book, to be sampled and savored at many sittings. For historians, it is a valuable reference work, and it should be a part of every library's collection.

The College of New Jersey (as it was called until 1896 when it officially became Princeton University) was founded in the waning heat

of the First Great Awakening in 1746. Presbyterians, especially Jonathan Dickinson and Aaron Burr, Sr., were its initial leaders, though the college very early became religiously diverse. The charter declared that all students would be welcome, "any different sentiments in religion notwithstanding." The college was always informally associated with the Presbyterian church, but as Woodrow Wilson once observed, Princeton was a Presbyterian institution, not because it was designed for Presbyterians but because Presbyterians had the good sense to found it. The alumni of this period who became clergymen bear testimony to this fact. Of the 158 ministers, 97 were Presbyterian, but there were 41 Congregationalists, 10 Anglicans, 6 Dutch Reformed, 3 Baptists, and 1 Lutheran.

Princeton was also the first American college with anything approaching a national constituency. At Harvard, ninety per cent of the students came from Massachusetts, and Yale drew seventy-five per cent of its students from Connecticut. During its first twenty years, Princeton did draw roughly sixty per cent of its students from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, but about twenty-five per cent came from New England and more than ten per cent came from the South. (The origins of some graduates are unknown.) This geographical diversity increased during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as Princeton became the one northern college with a large portion of southern students. Even more striking, Princeton alumni often did not return to the state where their parents lived, thus giving the college an even wider range of influence in local and national affairs. Part of the explanation for the diverse religious and geographical composition of the student body is purely economic; Princeton was the cheapest of all the American colleges, a fact that must be viewed with wistful nostalgia by the parents of current Princeton students.

As McLachlan points out in his introduction, Princeton was infused with the religious zeal of the Awakening, and one of the primary intentions of the founders was to train ministers in "experimental" religion. But even in its first two decades, slightly less than half of the alumni became clergymen. Lawyers, doctors, merchants, and other occupations accounted for the rest, and the alumni were overwhelmingly professional men, 251 out of

338 entering the ministry, law, or medicine. But the curriculum was classical in nature, and no one received a narrow professional training.

From the biographical sketches of clergymen, one can see that some aspects of life have indeed changed. Many were forced to conduct what would be called "tent-making" ministries today, for the call to a church nearly always included a plot of land, and it was an unhappy minister who was a poor farmer. Their papers and other records also tell us virtually nothing about their wives or families; in fact, women are virtually invisible in much of eighteenth century American society. But some aspects of ministry have not changed at all. These clergy moved often, and after the Revolution their geographical mobility increased even more. The problem of money was virtually endemic; congregations often refused to pay salaries or paid them late. Schisms were frequent and the causes manifold: personality clashes, theology, the introduction of Watts' hymns into the service, and more.

Princetonians offers a unique glimpse of life in the eighteenth century, and the work of James McLachlan and his staff in unearthing the details of each biography is superb. A second volume, under the direction of Richard Harrison, will cover the alumni through 1781, and it will be a welcome companion to this excellent contribution to American history.

JOHN M. MULDER

Dictionary of American Religious Biography, by Henry Warner Bowden (Edwin S. Gaustad, Advisory Editor). Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn., 1977. Pp. 575. \$29.95.

This is a long-needed reference work, which should be a part of every minister's library and a standard reference work for all library collections. It contains biographical sketches of 425 American religious leaders, plus a brief bibliography of standard primary and secondary sources for each figure. The basic data cover the highlights of each person's career and the significant contributions to American religious life. Each sketch is well drawn; the writing is lucid and unadorned; and the result is a comprehensive biography-

cal picture of the complexity and richness of American church history.

The selection of people reflects the new recognition among historians of American religious history that religion has not been the exclusive preserve of white, male clergy in the three major religious traditions of the United States. I suspect that if this dictionary had been compiled as little as twenty years ago, it would have presented a much more homogenized picture of significant American religious leaders. In this work, however, readers will find women (Mary Baker Eddy, Emma Curtis Hopkins, Augusta Emma Stetson, Anne Hutchinson, Henrietta Szold, Narcissa Prentiss Whitman, Georgia Harkness, et al.), blacks (Martin Luther King, Alexander Crummel, Richard Allen, Henry M. Turner, et al.), cult or sect leaders (Father Divine, Marcus Garvey, Charles "Daddy" Grace, Malcolm X, Elijah Muhammad, et al.), plus communarians, Native Americans, holiness-pentecostal leaders, and more.

But there remains a strong Protestant coloration to the collection as a whole. Two hundred of the individuals come from five of the major Protestant denominations (Congregationalist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist). There are 57 Catholics and 14 Jews. The selection also suggests the social and economic hegemony held by Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Baptists and Methodists have been the dominant Protestant groups for more than a century, but in this volume there are 31 Baptists and 33 Methodists, in contrast to 61 Congregationalists and 44 Presbyterians. Every reader will suggest additional names, and the following occurred to me: Catherine Beecher, A. J. Muste, Alexander Waters, Nat Turner, John Brown, William Lloyd Garrison, and Father Charles Coughlin.

But one can hardly complain about Bowden's principles of selection. Each figure had to have died by July 1, 1976 and exerted a significant influence in American religious life. Within the confines of one volume of reasonable length, Bowden has done a superb job. A catholic, humane, and sympathetic perspective informs the entire work. Some might even cavil at the restrained tone of the sketch of a racist and nativist like G. B. Winrod, but Bowden is surely right in his judgment that Winrod "spoke for thousands of conservative Christians who expressed their

faith within the narrow confines of right wing politics." Bowden also summarizes succinctly the basic themes of several major and minor American theologians, in all cases a herculean task in approximately 500 words.

The steep price should not drive people away, for this is a book of enduring value to anyone interested in American church history.

JOHN M. MULDER

Historical Atlas of Religion in America (Revised Edition), by Edwin Scott Gaustad, Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 189. \$20.00.

When this book appeared in 1962, it was widely acclaimed as an invaluable source for students of American church history. In this new edition, Gaustad has revised the material to make it even more inclusive and updated the statistics to 1975. Sects and cults, the black church, Native American religion, and churches in Alaska and Hawaii are among the subjects that receive fresh attention. The result is a revision that is also an improvement, and what was true in 1962 is even more true today.

Gaustad is fully aware of the difficulties in undertaking such an atlas. "To represent the religious history of America statistically and geographically is to generalize dangerously and to court disaster openly. All statistics have their deceptions, their ambiguities, their non sequiturs. Far from being exceptions in this regard, religious statistics may be considered the prime example." Yet this book can be an indispensable way of measuring and seeing the contours of American religious life. In addition to numerous graphs and maps, Gaustad provides a clear and coherent narrative text, which explains or highlights the significance of what might appear at first glance to be merely a collection of data.

Gaustad's work also suggests an area of historical methodology which has received insufficient attention by church historians—quantification. Historians in other fields have utilized statistics to open new dimensions of social, political, and economic history, but the "cliometrician" has not had much opportunity to work on religious history. It could be argued that some forms of human activity, particularly religious behavior and belief, cannot be adequately treated through statis-

tics, but quantification is a tool, and like any other, it is only as useful as the creativity and skill that are brought to it.

Gaustad's atlas would be one place to see the value of such an approach; however, readers should not see this book as a work for specialists but for anyone seriously interested in American church history.

JOHN M. MULDER

The Old Religion in the Brave New World: Reflections on the Relation between Christendom and the Republic, by Sidney E. Mead. University of California Press, Berkeley, Ca., 1977. Pp. 201. \$10.00.

For the last few decades, Sidney Mead has been a dominant figure in the writing and interpretation of American religious history. He has trained large numbers of graduate students, especially at the University of Chicago and the University of Iowa, who in turn have recorded their indebtedness to Mead and his work. He has also produced a substantial literary corpus, including perceptive reviews, probing articles, and books—*Nathaniel William Taylor*, *The Lively Experiment*, and *A Nation with the Soul of a Church*.

This book comprises the Jefferson Memorial Lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, and for those interested in understanding Mead's basic approach to American religious history, this volume is indispensable. In fact, Mead's work would be profitably read in reverse order, for *The Old Religion in the Brave New World* reveals the essential theological propositions that underlie and shape Mead's interpretation.

In this book, his central assumptions are clear. First, he distinguishes between what he calls Christendom (usually the churches) and an historic tradition which has criticized Christendom and maintained "the true Christian ideal" against its institutional perversions. Among the modern representatives of this tradition, Mead modestly notes, are "Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, H. L. Mencken, Mr. [Harvey] Cox, and myself."

Second, this true Christian ideal was embodied in Enlightenment Christianity, which Mead describes as "radical monotheism" or "a Unitarianism of the First Person." It sees

religious truth as accessible essentially through reason and nature; it is inclusive rather than exclusive; it views human nature as finite but not inherently sinful; and it viewed religious institutions primarily in terms of their capacity for promoting the moral welfare of society. Enlightenment religion, Mead stresses, is not atheistic, and in a book filled with occasional splenetic outbursts, nothing so enrages Mead as the charge that Jefferson *et al.* did not believe in God or were not "orthodox."

Third, Enlightenment Christianity is the theological foundation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and this is the basis for Mead's fundamental thesis. The American churches, by which he means primarily Protestant evangelicalism, have been essentially subversive of the "Republic" by failing to grapple theologically with the contradiction between their exclusivistic creeds and the religious liberty of the constitution. They have fostered intolerance and bigotry; they have separated religion from the public and political realm and made it intensely individualistic and private; and they have given "the state" a sanctified status, rather than critically measuring the nation against its theological and political standards.

From these premises emerge analyses of three "B's": Robert Baird and Horace Bushnell (symbolic of "bad" Americans) and Lyman Beecher (symbolic of "good" Americans). Beecher, who has received his share of brick-bats from historians, is praised by Mead because he made a politics out of his religion rather than a religion out of his politics.

All of this is presented in a witty, conversational style that retains some of the flavor of Mead's personality. The lectures as a whole are provocative and stimulating, but they are severely defective in several significant ways.

Nowhere does Mead attempt to defend his thesis that Enlightenment Christianity in fact represents the "true ideal" of Christianity and even admits that what emerged in the Enlightenment was a new development in the Christian tradition. Such an attempt would be interesting, to say the least. It would have to grapple, for example, with the apocalyptic mode of much of the New Testament literature and with some dimensions of christology in which Mead would have little apparent interest.

His claim that American evangelicalism has been subversive of the "Republic" must come as a considerable surprise to both evangelicals and non-evangelicals, who have often been impressed with the cultural entrapment of American Protestantism. But, as noted above, Mead means by this that they have not supported the true meaning and spirit of American democracy, and it is obvious here that Mead has fallen into the trap that he so much wants to avoid. In effect, he has taken his politics (American democracy and its political institutions) and adopted a religion that seemingly is the only foundation for those institutions. He only partially grasps the point that there have been and may be other theological rationales for the American political system and tradition. But the larger point that Mead steadfastly rejects is that the Christian faith is not coterminous with any single political system, and the effort to forge such an alliance is in fact another attempt to recreate Christendom, the phenomenon that Mead bewails.

It is difficult to know how to describe this book—as a work of history of theology—but as theology, Mead's analysis is a compelling reminder that the First Amendment did commit the nation to religious and cultural pluralism, a commitment which institutions in all areas of American life have only partially understood or realized in practice.

JOHN M. MULDER

The American Catholic: A Social Portrait, by Andrew M. Greeley. Basic Books, New York, N.Y., 1977. Pp. 280. \$15.00.

This is in many ways a book designed more for Protestant readers than Catholics. Greeley's intention is to provide a sociological picture that will combat what he sees as three major facets of American Catholic life.

(1). Catholics, he argues, are vastly underrepresented at the highest levels of American academic, social, and economic life. They hold few positions of prestige in major universities, foundations, or boards of large corporations. This is true, he says, despite the fact that Catholic economic and academic achievements have outpaced those of Protestants in the last several decades. His explanation—the present situation is due to a per-

sistent anti-Catholicism in American society.

(2). American culture is not a melting pot in which ethnic identities are dissolved but a stew pot, or as Greeley puts it, "a mosaic with permeable boundaries." In short, Greeley maintains that economic and social mobility must not and has not been purchased by Catholics' assuming "American" (read Protestant) values and the loss of ethnic Catholic allegiances.

(3). The American Catholic community should not be understood as being identified with the church, if ever it could have been. Rather, Greeley sees and heralds the emergence of "communal Catholics," people whose identity is rooted in much of traditional Catholic teaching and behavior but whose allegiances to the church as an institution are incomplete and selective.

Underlying these arguments is a substantial amount of statistical data compiled by Greeley and his colleagues at the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, as well as a large dose of moral indignation that Catholics could continue to be so persistently misunderstood and misconceived. As Greeley notes in his introduction, "I would very much like to write an objective, dispassionate, and scholarly work, but I am afraid that will not be possible. Objective statements about American Catholicism based on the best survey data available become polemical by their very nature, because the truth about American Catholics is something that a considerable number of their fellow citizens, particularly those who constitute the country's intellectual and cultural elite, have not yet been able to understand or believe."

This is obviously sociology written with passion; it is, in fact, a sociology characteristic of Greeley's extraordinary literary production. This does not invalidate his conclusions or his evidence. In fact, I am persuaded that Greeley's conviction about the sub-stratum of anti-Catholic sentiment in this country is substantially correct and little recognized, and his book is an extremely important one for Protestants to read and ponder.

When Greeley is finished proving that Catholics are not bigoted, racist, and anti-intellectual but moderately liberal, educationally mobile, and economically middle-class, he turns to a fascinating discussion of the contemporary malaise of the American Catholic church. His thesis, as indicated in

earlier writings, is that the crisis of authority in American Catholicism is not due to the innovations launched by Vatican II. Instead, the papal encyclical, *Humanae Vitae*, produced a crisis of conscience for American Catholic women, many of whom had been using artificial means of birth control long before the encyclical but at least did so without papal condemnation. Greeley offers convincing data that there are strong chronological correlations between the encyclical and the subsequent declines in the American Catholic church. Vatican II, Greeley insists, was what John XXIII intended it to be—an agent of renewal. *Humanae Vitae* cut it short and has left the American church in disarray.

Greeley's argument is more nuanced and complex than my summary of it, and there is more than an element of truth to his position. Yet the American reaction to *Humanae Vitae* is only one aspect of the Catholic church's dilemma. Surely the situation would not be completely reversed if a new pope issues another encyclical modifying or overturning *Humanae Vitae*. What is striking is that the crisis of American Catholicism is part of the larger crisis in American churches, both Protestant and Catholic, and it is this shared experience which ought to engage our attention.

Without mitigating in any way the force of Greeley's attempt to correct misconceptions and misunderstandings about American Catholics, I must confess that the book left me somewhat saddened. Greeley's "communal Catholic" looks remarkably like a "mainline Protestant," religious without much ecclesiastical allegiance, moral according to the norms of a liberal, middle-class ethic. Greeley may emphasize the still strong and distinctive emphases on the family and the neighborhood that characterizes much of Catholic behavior, but what of faith?

JOHN M. MULDER

A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada, by Robert T. Handy. Oxford University Press, New York, N.Y., 1977. Pp. 471. \$19.95.

In recent years, there have been several creative and ambitious attempts to synthesize the history of American religion and place it in the broader context of American history.

These efforts include works by Clifton E. Olmstead, Edwin S. Gaustad, Winthrop S. Hudson, and Sydney E. Ahlstrom.

The latest contribution to this genre is Robert T. Handy's *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*, the inaugural volume in the new Oxford History of the Christian Churches, edited by Henry and Owen Chadwick. Handy's book sets a high standard for the entire series, projected for some twenty volumes, and the series as a whole will undoubtedly become a standard reference and reliable guide.

In comparison with the previous synthetic interpretations of American church history, Handy's approach is notable for two reasons. First, Handy focuses primarily on the churches as institutional or denominational entities. For many years, denominational history was the stock-and-trade of American church historians, and it continues to be a constructive methodology, particularly in an era when so many churches have lost a sense of their own historical identity. Less common, and never as successfully tried as here, has been an institutional approach that sets the varieties of American Christian churches in relationship to each other and to the culture. To construct a narrative that keeps all these churches in view without hopelessly confusing the reader is an acrobatic task, and Handy has done it superbly.

Second, as the title indicates, this volume accepts the premise that the single most successful European power in colonizing North America was Great Britain, whose interests extended not merely to "the lower 48," as they became known eventually, but to Canada as well. "American" church history thus becomes the history of a broader range of Christian churches, defined less in terms of geographical boundaries and more in terms of different social, political, and religious patterns.

This second feature of Handy's treatment is, at least for me, the most valuable characteristic of his book. American church historians have been frequently and justly criticized for the parochial quality of their research and writing. A perennial question in their historical literature has been: "What makes American church history uniquely American?" While there have been fruitful discussions of this theme, it has often tended to reinforce the chauvinistic and antihistorical

quality of much of American church life. Handy's book represents a substantial corrective to this tradition, a contribution that needs to be taken seriously and investigated further.

For it is only a beginning. Short of attempting the impossible, there is nothing *per se* to prevent "American" church history from becoming the history of churches in North, Central, and Latin America. Such an approach would redress the imbalanced treatment usually accorded to Protestant groups and focus more clearly on the spread of Roman Catholicism to a New World far more extensive than the English and Dutch colonies. It would also recognize the role of Spain and France in shaping "American" culture, even within what is now the United States.

A magnificent achievement like Handy's encourages, if not begs, these types of questions, for what is exciting about "American" church history, and other areas of history as well, is the unending variety of questions that can be asked. Handy's work is like a Bach fugue, with the contrapuntal themes of different churches and different areas played against each other. Bach's advantage was that he could play the themes together; Handy is compelled to treat them chapter by chapter. What emerges is often at least two different stories, and Handy might have aided his readers by making more explicit the comparisons that are implicit in his narrative.

This volume, which is reasonably priced considering its length, should be read alongside Handy's *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities*. There Handy spells out in a much briefer compass the major theme that underlies his larger treatment: the attempt by Protestants to "Christianize" the United States, their seeming success, and their eventual discovery that by winning, the churches had lost much of their integrity and Christian identity. It is Handy's purpose in part to help the churches recover their identity by linking them with their past, and they are the richer for his achievement.

JOHN M. MULDER

The Church and Its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World, by Orlando E. Costas. Tyndale House

Publishers, Wheaton, Ill., 1974. Pp. 331. \$4.95 (paper).

What Asian Christians are Thinking, ed. by Douglas J. Elwood. New Day Publishers, Christian Literature Society of the Philippines, P.O. Box 167, Quezon City 3008, Manila, 1976. Pp. 530. \$9.00 (paper).

Asian Voices in Christian Theology, ed. by Gerald H. Anderson. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 321. \$15.00 (cloth), \$7.95 (paper).

Christian Mission in Reconstruction: An Asian Attempt, by Choan-seng Song. Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y., 1977. Pp. 292. (n.p.).

Mission Trends No. 3, ed. by Gerald Anderson and Thomas Stransky. Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., & Paulist Press, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 262. \$3.45 (paper).

"The question" writes Orlando Costas (*The Church and its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World*), "is no longer what is the church's 'primary' task, but what is her *total* task. The issue today is not whether or not people are being converted to Christ but whether this is happening as part of a total process: is the church a community totally committed to and involved in the fulfillment of the gospel in the context of the concrete historical situations in which men and women find themselves?"

With this, Costas sounds the theme of one of the most important books on the mission of the church to appear in the past few years. The author's credentials are impeccably, some would say suspiciously, conservative-evangelical. He is professor of theology at the Evangelical Theological Seminary in San José, Costa Rica. The book is based on lectures delivered at Gordon-Conwell Seminary. It is introduced by a vice-president of World Vision, and a professor at Fuller Seminary. The tone and content of the book, however, are vigorously and creatively ecumenical.

Costas writes from a situation where the

existence of the church cannot be taken for granted. Thus it is in most of the third world. He begins therefore with a missionary ecclesiology, on a Biblical base. What he says—about the people of God, the body of Christ and the work of the Spirit through and beyond the institution, about the worshipping and the missionary community, and about the prophetic and priestly dimensions of the church's calling—applies as fully to a church in the United States as in Latin America. It is the perspective which is fresh: the wholeness of the gospel of Christ for the world through the church, and the unity of confession and missionary praxis in the church's discipleship and witness.

The most valuable part of the book, however, is Costas' study of the controversy which has grown up during the past few years about the character of the world mission of the church. The "Church-Growth Movement" associated with the name of Donald McGavran and now housed at Fuller Seminary, the World Council of Churches' search for a modern theology of mission in a nationalist and anti-imperialist age, the conservative critique of this search, and the missionary dimensions of the Latin American theology of liberation—all are sensitively and critically examined. The author sides with none of them. Rather he calls them into a dialogue with each other about the kind of a church the world needs today and which God wants, "neither imperialistic nor alienating," but "an expansion in service, in liberating action, that generates hope and announces the advent of a new world."

What Asian Christians are Thinking extends this theme into a predominantly non-Christian continent. Douglas Elwood (PTS '51) has collected thirty contributions—most of them from theologians, a few from church bodies—over the past twenty years, into a source book for Asian theology. It is a powerful expression of the creativity, the vitality, and the variety of Christian witness in that part of the world. The themes are familiar: God and revelation, man, nature and history, theology of mission and encounter with other religions, and theology of liberation and development. What is fresh for the western reader is the new meanings they take on against the background of quite different cultures from our own, and the way the Christian faith finds a form there from which

we in the world where the church is taken for granted, can learn.

There is no single perspective in this anthology. Partly this is due to radically different experiences on the frontier of non-Christian society. For some writers the central question is the relation of the Christian faith with traditional religion and culture (Samartha and Panikkar from India, Kitamori from Japan, de Silva from Sri Lanka, and Lee from Korea). For others the revolutionary struggle of an emerging society is the basic challenge (Nacpil and Arevalo from the Philippines, M. M. Thomas from India, and K. H. Ting from the People's Republic of China). For still others the issue is true nationhood in a post-imperialist age, in which renewed culture and social justice would blend in the theology and evangelism of the church (most notably C. H. Song from Taiwan, but also Ukur from Indonesia). One voice—that of Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of the Syrian Orthodox Church (Paul Verghese, PTS '58)—reminds us that in one part of Asia at least, a church still lives which draws on the most ancient traditions of Christendom for its continuous life, and for the inspiration of society. And finally there is the puckish originality of that indescribable ecumenist Kosuke Koyama (Japan, Thailand, Singapore & New Zealand, PTS Th.D. '59) throwing the revealing side light of his "waterbuffalo theology" on the whole scene.

There is no way to reduce all of this to one theology. The remarkable fact is however that it is all taking place within a fellowship through a dialogue which expresses the reality of the Church of Jesus Christ in Asia. Some of the best statements in the whole volume are from meetings of the Christian Conference of Asia—an organization that unites most of the churches from Pakistan on the west to Japan on the east—where representatives from all the countries in the region meet to hammer out a common message. A process is going on here—and the whole book reflects it—whereby the word of God in all its variety as it speaks to people in different cultures and experiences, is taking form in the life of the church on its missionary frontier. The question for American Christians is, how we participate in this process.

The other collection of essays, *Asian Voices in Christian Theology*, has a different purpose and structure. Here Gerald Anderson

(Director of the Overseas Ministries Study Center in Ventnor, N.J.) has brought together leading theologians from nine Asian countries, each of whom has written for this volume an account of the background and current state of the church's theology in his land. Some of these are creative in their own right—notably Kumazawa's relating of Biblical text to Japanese context, or de Silva's effort to make Christian use of Buddhist concepts in Sri Lanka—but their greatest value is the way in which they focus the theological task which each church faces in the particular religious context and social revolution of its own society. Besides the above, India (M. M. Thomas), Burma (U Kyaw Than), Thailand (Kosuke Koyama), Indonesia (T. B. Simatupang), the Philippines (E. Nacpil), Taiwan (Song Choan-seng), and Korea (Tongshik Ryu) are presented. The book has also two invaluable Appendices: one reprints certain major confessions of faith and credal statements made by churches in Asia in their emergence from western denominational control into autonomous definition of their faith and mission; the other is the most comprehensive bibliography on church and mission in Asia, yet to be compiled in English. For those who are actively concerned with the work of God on that continent, these alone are worth the price of the book.

Anthologies have their strengths and weaknesses. For those who would like a book-length attempt to restate the Christian message for the Asian scene, Song Choan-seng's *Christian Mission in Reconstruction* meets the need. Song is a Ph.D. in Old Testament, a fact which shows in his fresh attempt to relate the experience of Israel before Christ as a model to the experience of non-Christian Asian societies before the coming of the Christian mission. He has been Principal of Tainan Theological College in Taiwan, his native country, missionary to the United States working with the Reformed Church in America, and guest professor at Princeton Theological Seminary (1976-77). He is now on the staff of the Faith and Order Department of the World Council of Churches.

From this background, the book emerges as a unique attempt to relate the mission of God in Asian society to the Biblical message, to western theology, and to the American scene. It is a new theology of mission, one of the few to have been written in recent years.

Song transcends the old division between the adaptation of Christianity to traditional culture, and the use of the Christian message as an agent of revolution by understanding traditional Asian culture itself in a dynamic way. Here is where he finds American Black theology so illuminating: it is rooted in a particular cultural experience—an experience of subjugation and violation of its integrity like Asian culture under imperialist domination—but it does not aim to restore some ancient integrity. Rather it strives forward toward the promise given to the people of Israel and revealed in Christ. He goes beyond Black theology however in the comprehensive character of his vision of the divine mission of creation, incarnation and hope for the whole world, in an ongoing challenging and redeeming dialogue with Asian religious culture and secular hopes.

Song's book is not without its weaknesses. He reacts so strongly against the pietist individualism and the cultural foreignness of much missionary church-building that he tends to dissolve the church altogether into its apostolic and diaconal functions. He is one voice in a dialogue out of which new forms of churchmanship will emerge—but an essential voice if the church in Asia and elsewhere in the third world is to avoid being restricted by the social and cultural establishment of Christendom.

Mission Trends No. 3 differs from the Elwood volume in being world-wide in scope and more immediate in its emphasis. It too is concerned with third world theologies. Some of the same authors appear (Song, Nacpil, Lee, Koyama, Samartha) with somewhat shorter selections. But they are set alongside of Latin American and African perspectives as well. The result is a smorgasbord of theological delicacies. The description is not meant to be pejorative. A good smorgasbord has a distinctive quality whatever one chooses to eat, and in this case the quality is there. A careful critique of Gustavo Gutierrez by Richard J. Neuhaus, with a rejoinder by Gutierrez is one delicacy. Some African Christian poetry and prayers, and a careful analysis of the resources and possibilities of African theology by Fashole-Luke of Sierra Leone, are others. Some important documents of the past three years—The Confession of Alexandria by the All African Conference of Churches, and the Theological Declaration by ministers in Korea

for example—are included. It reflects well the immense variety of the struggle of many churches on all these continents to bear a faithful witness to the powers in their situations. It includes both Protestant and Catholic voices, and among Protestants both “main-line” and “conservative evangelical.” Among the latter, one contribution stands out for the quality and depth of its concern for a full-orbed evangelism: that of Bishop Mortimer Arias of the Methodist Church of Bolivia.

In this book also, no attempt has been made by the editors to find a premature unity among the various expressions. There is, however, also less effort to draw contrasts and focus differences, than in the Elwood volume. One might hope that future volumes in the series would have more profile and define more issues. Meanwhile, however, the editors have done a great service in making the voices of the church in the third world available.

CHARLES C. WEST

The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England, by Nathan O. Hatch. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1977. Pp. 197. \$12.50.

To what extent the religious rhetoric of the New England clergy affected the American War for Independence has been analyzed and discussed at least since John Adams first wrote that the real revolution was, “in the minds and hearts of the people,” and this “was effected before the war commenced.” The close rhetorical affinity of religious and political ideas with significant and powerful ideological urgency, related to clear changes in the American landscape, has led to renewed investigation of language and events in eighteenth-century America. Nowhere is this found in such comprehensive detail as in Nathan O. Hatch’s recent study, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*. Refining work which first appeared as his doctoral dissertation and then, in part, as a journal article, Hatch presents the thesis that the convergence of millennial and republican thought forms a central theme in the complex relationship between religion and politics in Revolutionary New England. In presenting this thesis, Hatch has per-

formed a major scholarly service in helping to establish the transference which occurred from Jonathan Edwards’ basically apolitical millennial vision to Lyman Beecher’s belief that God’s renovating purpose in the world was beginning in the American West (see his, *A Plea for the West*, 1835), a concept which was fundamental to America’s Manifest Destiny.

Until Perry Miller, among others, altered the framework for discussion with his reassessment of American Puritanism, the question of religious influence upon Revolution largely languished. The work of Vernon Parrington and Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. was more typical with its emphasis upon economics, social and constitutional issues. When Alan Heimert (*Religion and the American Mind*, 1966) drew out certain tendencies in Miller’s work, the debate over the influence of religion in Revolutionary America became more focused. Heimert, joined by William G. McLoughlin and others, emphasized the important connection between evangelical religion growing out of the Great Awakening, its democratic social and political ideology, and the American War for Independence with developing nationalism. Sidney Mead and Edmund Morgan, critical of the scant attention given social issues by Heimert, laid more emphasis upon religious liberalism and the importance of Enlightenment thought.

Cutting into this discussion with a focus upon political ideology supplying a changing content to religious rhetoric, Hatch is critical of studies which make no attempt to go beyond an unfortunate sacred-secular dichotomy. Such a categorical separation is an anomaly of the twentieth-century and not true to historical reality. Those who see only the effect of religion upon politics are equally culpable of a kind of historical myopia. The effect of politics upon religion is fundamental for the revitalization of older religious terminology in the period under consideration. Finally, Hatch tries to move beyond what he sees as an often unwise dualism on the part of religious historians, a dualism which places too little emphasis upon the importance of a social-historical matrix in the development of ideas.

With these and other important methodological considerations in mind, Hatch proceeds through sermons, fast and election day speeches to analyze ideology in Revolutionary

America. The political rhetoric of this period drew upon the myths and historical reconstructions of the past as illustrated by William Haller (*The Elect Nation*, 1963) and J.G.A. Pocock (*The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, 1957). These form the moral judgments and images of self and foes which reveal the deepest values of New England society. Proceeding through four key periods in American history, Hatch demonstrates the extent to which religious thought coalesced with radical Whig political ideology in the late eighteenth-century. These four periods are: (1) the years following the Great Awakening which encompassed the French and Indian Wars, 1745-1765; (2) the Revolutionary Period itself at which time Great Britain was identified as a participant with the antichristian forces of tyranny; (3) the Critical Period immediately following the war with the development of what has often been interpreted as a reactionary Federalism on the part of an earlier, more radical New England clergy; and (4) an analysis of the initial developments during the Second Great Awakening in its New England phase, a period of considerable importance in the formation of American values and institutions.

Synthesizing the work of a wide variety of scholars, Hatch finds a fundamental reordering of American society occurring in the years 1740-1800. Using ideas developed by Edmund Morgan, an important transformation of values is demonstrated. Pre-Davidic Israel came to be seen as the model republic in an age of increasingly influential Whig political thought; the traditional New England jeremiad was revived as a rhetorical bulwark against civil and religious tyranny. The millennium was interpreted as a kingdom of civil and religious liberty; virtue seen as piety and benevolence; and liberty as the opportunity to do what is right under a government proceeding providentially toward a Good or Virtuous end. In the first chapter of this study, Hatch demonstrates the manner in which the millennial language of the revolutionary era adapted the framework of apocalyptic history to commonly held political ideas. Beginning almost with the foundation of New England society, but finding its complete development with the French and Indian Wars, the concept of Antichrist was extended from an identification with papal pretensions, characteristic of the Protestant

Reformation, to the wider challenge of civil and religious tyranny. This is an important point to make for this period. However, with the usually close connection between religious and political issues, one might also look for this development in such earlier periods as Elizabethan England under threat of Spanish Armada and Rhemist religious subversion.

The second chapter, "Robinocracy and the Great Whore of Babylon: The New England Clergy in Revolt," explains how the clergy saw themselves and the American colonies as the true defenders of British tradition and constitutional values. This is seen in contrast to the positions developed by Heimert, McLoughlin, and Bercovitch who find here a final step in a growing moral dichotomy between America and Great Britain. With a political transformation of Puritan concepts having occurred before 1760 (over one hundred years earlier following Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints*, 1965), Hatch qualifies Morgan and maintains that the only "intellectual revolution" after 1760 was an identification of Britain as a primary symbol of moral evil. Surfeited with wealth and corruption, England had lost the virtue necessary for a Christian Commonwealth. The Stamp Act and attempt to create an American bishopric are focused upon as important stimuli for a transference of antichrist terminology from French to English tyranny. Information such as this is helpful but still does not fully explain the rapid conversion from monarchical to republican political belief in a very short space of time in New England society.

In the final two chapters of this study, Hatch illustrates the roots of New England Federalism and developing American nationalism. Fearing a tyranny of the aristocracy on the right and, as a result, in part, of the aftermath of the French Revolution, a tyranny of radical democracy on the left, the American government was idealized and its purpose outlined in terms of virtue, a kind of moralism growing out of earlier New England piety as described by Joseph Haroutunian (*Piety versus Moralism*, 1932). Given its precarious existence in history, it was believed that a republic could only continue so long as it was composed of a virtuous people. With an identification of the virtuous republic with a Christian commonwealth, significant confirmation is found here for Gordon Wood's thesis on the importance of virtue for the

new Republic and definition of such virtue as involving moral reformation (see his study, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 1969).

One is continually reminded that this was not a study done in isolation from the flow of current scholarship. Hatch does an impressive job in synthesizing important political and religious thought in this period. Each page is replete with sermonic material and recent interpretative scholarship. Hatch's study is probably the best explanation to date of how the concept of America's Manifest Destiny grows out of the country's religious and New World framework. The manner in which religion and political ideology coalesce is presented here in a more detailed and persuasive way than the earlier, now classic study of American millennialism, that of Earnest Lee Tuveson (*Redeemer Nation*, 1968). Furthermore, important for understanding the long period of the Second Great Awakening, and of intense topical interest as well, Hatch's demonstration of the intricate and complex relationship between Evangelicalism and Americanism is of current value. In a detailed and insightful way, we are shown the extent to which religion and politics operated in tandem at the very inception of this nation. Finally, all of this points to the importance of the study of rhetoric in this period. This is a task which has been undertaken by individuals like Sacvan Bercovitch and James West Davidson. Hatch establishes his case through a careful attention given language and its connotative changes in eighteenth-century New England society without losing track of significant social changes occurring in American life.

A note should be added at this point about a book published shortly after Hatch's study, *Christians in the American Revolution* (Eerdmans, 1977), by Mark A. Noll. Acknowledging his indebtedness to Hatch, Noll points to the same change in priorities on the part of New England clergy from theological to intensely political concerns, the identification of tyranny with Britain instead of France by the mid 1760's. Noll's study differs from Hatch in that Noll presents, in a rather general, less scholarly fashion, the differing ways in which Christians were involved in the Revolution throughout the American colonies. He develops this involvement in

chapters dealing with patriotic, reforming, loyalist, and pacifist participation.

Considerably less detailed, although wider in scope, the particular value of this book lies in its breadth. Indeed, it is the author's intent to "sketch in broad strokes the story of Christian participation in the public life of the Revolutionary period." Appended to the text is an extensive bibliographic essay on religion in Revolutionary America. Noll has written for the interested layperson, yet, with its broad perspective, this book is important for those with more than simply a passing interest in this topic. He concludes his study by writing that it is best not to view the ideology of the American Revolution as a product of explicitly Christian ideas (nor, one might add, of explicitly non-Christian ideas, see *A Theological Interpretation of American History*, by C. Gregg Singer, 1975), but as a bond between Christian belief and Whig political ideology. This is a further endorsement of Hatch's study, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*. In these days of political and religious reassessment, these are both valuable works which help elucidate the formation of American identity.

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views, ed. by Robert G. Clouse. InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, Ill., 1977. Pp. 223. \$4.25 (paper).

In a period like our own which increasingly seems to be searching for millennial or apocalyptic ideas behind every significant historical debate, it is helpful to find a book which attempts to delineate distinctions among such positions as historic premillennialism, dispensational millennialism, postmillennialism, and amillennialism. In *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views*, edited by Robert G. Clouse, an effort at such delineation is made. Consisting of four presentations with attendant rebuttals from the three other participants, the above positions are outlined by four leading evangelical theologians: George Elton Ladd, Herman A. Hoyt, Loraine Boettner, and Anthony A. Hoekema.

While helpful without being overly complex, this study suffers from a lack of historical perspective. Such perspective is provided in a limited way by the editor in a brief but

accurate introductory essay which provides some understanding of millennial conceptualizations in each of the major periods of church history down to the twentieth-century. For anyone unfamiliar with the topic this will prove adequate for the task at hand which is not that of historical analysis.

The discussion carried on by Ladd, Hoyt, Boettner, and Hoekema is primarily on the level of popular biblical exposition, a level at which InterVarsity operates so effectively. Key issues of literal versus allegorical interpretation are raised with respect to such passages as Revelation, chapter 20, biblical imagery, and the progressive development of history. One leaves this discussion with an adequate understanding of the current state of debate among Christians concerned with eschatological speculation. But this discussion must serve as an avenue for further study. Toward this end the editor has included a helpful, selected bibliography.

While the focus of this book is upon the debate carried on among the four evangelical theologians, one misses a sense of the historical depth of the arguments. The editor could have done much more with the material and the postscript which Clouse provides ends up by appearing to be a poor jibe at premillennialism (perhaps merited but, nevertheless, not a very satisfying conclusion). Further work needs to be done on the development of these four millennial tendencies, both in terms of their own proper definitions as well as their relation to the differing social and historical situations under which they developed. For the student or pastor beginning a study of millennial speculation in the twentieth-century, this is a helpful discussion with an excellent initial bibliography. For further study one is encouraged to seek out more thorough works such as Bryan W. Ball's book, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (E. J. Brill, 1975), or even Iain Murray's study, *The Puritan Hope: A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England, by James West Davidson. Yale University

Press, New Haven & London, 1977. Pp. 308. \$17.50.

Having been freed from a grim past by the reassessing work of Samuel Eliot Morison and Perry Miller, Puritanism has taken on the aura of a kind of Renaissance humanism uniquely coupled with Calvinist piety set in a "howling wilderness" or millennial garden (something about which our early forebears could never agree). Although this revisionist interpretation of American Puritanism has almost become a new orthodoxy, such an event has not hampered deeper probes into the fabrication of American identity. Soundings into the depth of the American character have continued unabated with the work of Richard Bushman (*From Puritan to Yankee*, 1967) emphasizing a crisis of guilt as private interests began to break down Puritan social theory, and with Sacvan Bercovitch (*The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, 1975) emphasizing the importance of biblical typology for self- and national-identity. In a similar vein, Michael Zuckerman has pointed to the importance of what he refers to as "boundary maintenance," the effect of New World expansion upon American consciousness and character formation.

What has been missing in many of these social, intellectual, and psychological probes into the nature of colonial identity is a sounding into the significance of the hope which sustained much of the Puritan effort at self and national transformation. Ernest Lee Tuveson began to redress this problem in his studies on American millennialism. His efforts have been significantly enhanced with the publication of James West Davidson's study, *The Logic of Millennial Thought*. The Puritan scheme of apocalyptic history and its impact upon early New England thought and institutions is increasingly an important area of scholarly study. Hardly a question with regard to this issue is left untouched by Davidson. He has sought to combine an investigation into the development of millennial thought in eighteenth-century New England with a study of the effect of such logic upon events, particularly the American War for Independence. This study is worth a careful reading for one interested in the question of the relationship between rhetoric and event and increasing influence of Anglo-American apocalyptic speculation during this decisive

period of American history. Unfortunately, it is a somewhat cumbersome work for anyone unfamiliar with the scholarship of this period. Much of the confusion arises because of Davidson's method in approaching his topic. While proceeding through this study in a roughly chronological progression, it is organized thematically. For one uncertain of the times or terms, this approach may end in a confusing sea of names and sermons.

In an attempt to provide a chart through these somewhat murky and often confusing eschatological waters, Davidson offers what he calls an "exercise in understanding how familiar people [the Mathers, Jonathan Edwards, and Timothy Dwight, for example] think strangely." This "exercise" opens with two questions: (1) How did eschatology influence the way New Englanders looked at the rest of the world; and (2) Did consistent patterns of behavior follow from a logic derived out of the book of Revelation and the tradition of its interpretation? In defining the parameters of this study, Davidson works with the interpretation given historical events by the New England clergy, the way in which their world-view may have shaped events. He emphasizes the continuities of perspective throughout the eighteenth-century rather than discontinuities arising from what others have seen as a developing, optimistic (post-) millennial perspective. Davidson is writing, so he states, about the "logic of millennial thought," not about millennialism. He notes, as did Perry Miller, that one must read this material in the context of everything that was happening in this momentous century. According to Davidson, biblical prophecy had a social function acknowledged by all expositors. It served as the promise that God would ultimately deliver his people. This promise was not only affected by social realities, but helped "bend" these into line with the situations predicted.

Beginning much as Tuveson does in *Re-deemer Nation*, Davidson starts by summarizing the book of Revelation and the history of its interpretation in the early church and in eighteenth-century New England. Having satisfactorily established the exegetical background and its importance to New England divines, the author proceeds to ask in what way several of the key features identified in the book of Revelation as preceding the millennium were instrumental in interpreting,

or even determining, events at this time. Three potential components are analyzed in "unraveling the logic" of such speculation. These are important aspects of millennial thought for either optimistic or pessimistic millennialists.

First, there are questions dealing with chronology, the sequence of latter-day events. Here Davidson concludes that although eighteenth-century millennialists could not easily be classified according to their chronologies, nevertheless a certain imminence was given to theological issues. This was an impetus to read into natural and supernaturally interpreted events hints of what was to come next on the timetable of the history of salvation.

Such events, or judgments, were seen as the means by which ordinary and extraordinary "providences" combined to accomplish the plan of God. Beginning with the premise that a person's attitudes and actions would vary with the amount of emphasis placed upon naturally or supernaturally interpreted events within God's overarching plan of redemption, Davidson explores attitudes in relation to catastrophic events. He writes, for example, that New Light as well as Old Light clergy viewed the New England tremors of 1727 and 1755 as naturally caused and aspects of God's moral judgment in a plan leading toward ultimate deliverance. Such judgments were viewed as inseparable pieces of the plan of salvation. Therefore both hopeful rhetoric as well as gloom were used to describe natural and moral calamities. All of this was part of a long process of salvation. Davidson concludes that it is difficult to assess the role catastrophes such as these played in prophetic thought. Hopes for a speedy universal revival often stood side by side with pessimistic assessments of the march of time.

While chronologies and judgments were viewed with "gloom-tinged" hopes according to Davidson, the enthusiasm of the Great Awakening rather than breaking down the apocalyptic outlook, further confirmed the conception of "historical progress through affliction." Having mastered the "permutations and computations" of eschatological speculation, the process of conversion is now focused upon as the psychological pattern that gave shape to the larger conception of a history of redemption. Here Davidson hypothesizes that the "morphology of the process of

conversion" in covenantal theology was instrumental in providing the perspective which shaped historical manifestations of millennial attitudes and interpretation. He writes: "The same perspective that informed conversion—the smallest awakening—also pervaded thinking about Greater Awakenings and the Work of Redemption as a whole. God redeemed history in the same way he redeemed individuals" (136). What Davidson refers to as the "afflictive model of history," whereby natural growth and spiritual progression (or, later, *mutatis mutandis*, simply progress) are advanced by the process of awakening, despair, and salvation provide a logic and unitive framework for a study moving in many different directions. It is a fascinating thesis and one worthy of detailed study. While not original with Davidson, his methodical approach to many primary materials, and awareness of attendant difficulties, is highly illuminating.

Having spent the first half of this study formulating what a millennial logic might be, the latter half is spent "applying the logic" earlier developed. Examining events later in the century, the ramifications of the logic developed in the first four chapters are analyzed. Focusing on the ways eschatology functioned as a theodicy in a social and intellectual sense in the 1750's and 1760's, progress was measured through judgments. Davidson writes that the crux of the Calvinist millennial theodicy was that: "It was better to have the evil that brought with it Christ's redemption of the elect and the millennial triumph of the church than not to have Christ and the history of redemption at all" (194). For either New or Old Light, the judgments of the present served to chastise the wicked and refine the saint.

Moving to the American War of Independence, Davidson explores the relationship of the millennial outlook to the Revolution and concludes that, "if eschatology influenced the coming of the Revolution, it did so as a rhetoric of history rather than as a blueprint for utopia . . ." (234). In agreement with Bernard Bailyn, we are led to the understanding that millennial thought may have "translated" political ideas into moral imperatives but did not, of itself, provide the rationale for mounting the American Revolution. Davidson writes that the millennial perspective, "focused not upon a utopian model of

social perfection but on a history which catalogued events, past and future, leading to the final triumph of Christ's kingdom" (217). The end of conversion and the work of redemption in society was not the creation of new powers but a reordering of existing ones. In this way the millennial perspective coalesced with developing political thought in the colonies (cf. N. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty*). Its close relationship to the ideals of Whig political ideology is pointed out by Davidson. The triumph of the millennium would be the triumph of virtue and other moral qualities required by the new Republic. As Gordon S. Wood has demonstrated in his study, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (1969), the need for virtue similarly defined was a fundamental tenet of Whig political thought.

In a final chapter entitled, "The End—and the Means," Davidson describes the gradual rise of a coherent, rationalized post millennial theology, illustrating as well how many of the basic premises of millennial logic might foster divisiveness as well as the harmony envisioned in the ideals of the millennial age. (Other possible influences are, e.g., the effects of Ramist logic and issue of "boundary maintenance.") Important themes are outlined here both with regard to earlier, seventeenth-century developments, as well as the later progressive, even imperial, visions of the nineteenth-century made concrete in missions and national destiny. Nevertheless, several questions remain. For example, while an "afflictive model of history" goes a considerable way in relating individual histories, or "stories" (to use more modern theological language) with the work of redemption, it still remains to be explained how Calvinism itself could develop such a concern for questions of eschatology. Calvin, as well as the earlier Puritans, eschewed eschatological speculation (cf. H. Quistorp, *Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things*, 1955).

Davidson is a master at having comprehended the "permutations and computations" of millennial thought. The thesis, or rather, questions presented are systematically approached. The conclusions drawn are balanced and valuable with regard to the highly controversial issues of religion, war, and American nationalism in relation to the development of apocalyptic thought. All of these are important reasons for taking the

time to work through this study. Most of the problems, other than that of presentation, seem to be ones that Davidson is aware of and are embedded in the nature of any study which focuses upon the influence of ideas upon events, rather than of events upon ideas.

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Apocalyptic Writings: The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 5, ed. by Stephen J. Stein. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1977. Pp. 501. \$28.50.

Like rivers of water flowing from latter-day fountains, books on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglo-American apocalyptic thought (not to mention other studies in eschatological speculation) have streamed forth from academic circles over the past ten years with impressive strength. Beginning with Alan Heimert, for example, one finds an increasing emphasis placed upon the significance of eschatological speculation in early American literature. Underscoring the importance of Edwards' apocalypticism, Heimert emphasized (not without challenge) the role played by such ideas in the formation of Revolutionary political ideals in eighteenth-century America (see his study, *Religion and the American Mind*, 1966). Since Heimert penned this controversial thesis (to some extent outlined by Perry Miller) others have emphasized the importance of such thought in relation to American self- and national-identity, religious revival and revolution, and the development of Protestant missions and American national expansion under the new Republic.

While this area of study has grown exceedingly rich and complex, the recent publication of Jonathan Edwards' apocalyptic writings, extensively edited by Stephen J. Stein, has significantly enriched our understanding of the variegated role played by apocalyptic thought in American history. Apocalyptic speculation was a topic that captured the imagination of the best minds in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, individuals like Joseph Mede (1586-1638), Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), and Joseph Priestly (1733-1804) to name only a few. Less a sustained thesis, except in so far as Edwards is shown to be a consistent apocalypticist, this

work is more an important tool for understanding apocalyptic thought itself, its significance in eighteenth-century America, and the role such thinking played in shaping Edwards' pastoral and theological concerns.

As part of the Yale edition of the works of Jonathan Edwards, this volume presents the first published text of Edwards' private commentary on the book of Revelation. Edwards' conviction of the usefulness of apocalyptic visions for ministry and theological speculation are revealed in this notebook written over a period of thirty-five years. This volume also contains the first complete edition (since the eighteenth-century) of Edwards' call for united prayer, the *Humble Attempt* (1748), written following the decline in religious fervor after the Great Awakening. Appended are important letters, charts, and indices, in addition to the consistently complete bibliographic references supplied throughout this study by the editor. In his introduction and commentary Stein analyzes the development of Edwards' apocalyptic interests in light of the eighteenth-century, showing that he was one in a steady line of those who believed in the gradual approach of the millennium. These texts, together with the introduction provided by Stein, illuminate important but seldom studied aspects of Edwards' religious thought.

Edwards' conviction of a "sabbath of the world," its commencement near the "seventh thousand years of the world," and the glorious nature of this time was neither an isolated factor in his own thinking, nor in that of the eighteenth-century. In holding such views Edwards was part of a Western tradition that extended back, in one form or another, to the earliest Christian church. Stein's recounting of the apocalyptic tradition as it proceeds through the Middle Ages, Reformation, and English civil wars is one of the best accounts of this development yet in print. While lacking some of the sharper delineations of more specific studies, a wealth of footnoted material is presented for the reader's further study.

Following this historical overview, Stein analyzes Edwards' differing use of the private commentary on the Apocalypse over the thirty-five years (1723-1758) he spent adding notations to it. While writing his first thoughts on this topic during his time as a Presbyterian minister in New York (when

he noted that the Church of Rome was the greatest barrier to the advancement of God's Kingdom), Stein comments that it was really in 1723 that Edwards undertakes to study the Apocalypse. The first pages of the notebook are filled with notes and calculations from geography to cabalism, relating historical events to prophecy. Edwards writes that the key to the book of Revelation is the description and identity of the Antichrist as being the Roman papacy (cf. C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England*, 1971). Edwards calculated that the fall of the papacy would come in 1866.

After 1729, however, his studies broadened and apocalyptic speculation became an integral part of his ministry with sixty-six recorded sermons developed out of the book of Revelation (listed by Stein in an appendix). Linking visions of a heavenly Jerusalem with happiness, Edwards forged a new basis, no longer one of fear, for urging his congregation to strive for greater consistency between their behavior and God's purpose. Politics, geography, the history of the Jews, religious revivals and many other events were linked by Edwards to his idea of the successive comings of Christ until eternal glory.

With the tapering off of revival fervor in New England, Edwards turned to an international union of prayer, finding here a remedy for problems facing the evangelical world. Such a "concert of prayer" was formulated as an essential part of the business of religion, a means by which rational creatures could glorify their Creator and rationale for a continued use of the Apocalypse. Under these conditions Stein finds a third use of Edwards' apocalyptic notebook, now a ledger tallying evangelical successes throughout the world as well as contemporary evidence for the vials of destruction poured out over the Kingdom of Antichrist.

In each of these three stages Edwards evidences a developing theology of the Apocalypse. By the 1750's, Stein writes, we find a coherent theology which is committed to Providence and the natural extension of God's creative powers in time. Such theology rests upon the traditionally Calvinist doctrines of divine sovereignty and sufficiency. Developing out of such presuppositions are important conclusions for the later course of American Protestantism: a concern for prophecy as the mark of one's commitment and faith, a chris-

tological focus to apocalyptic speculation, the interdependence of christology and ecclesiology, and increasingly earthly, eschatological conceptualizations with a progressive approach of the Kingdom of God.

C. C. Goen referred to theological conclusions such as these as a "new departure in eschatology," a fundamental change in traditional modes of apocalyptic thought. While it is difficult to call this a "new departure" on the basis of what is known today about varying forms of apocalyptic thought in Western history, these texts which have been highlighted by Stein further emphasize Edwards' part in the historicizing of the millennium. In providing for a theodicy of God in history, Edwards contributed to a steady stream of historical modes of conceptualization which were coming to play an increasingly important role. For Edwards, history read through the prism of the Apocalypse, was to define existence in important ways. Noted above was the pastoral use of apocalyptic speculation as pointed out earlier by David Hall in his study, *The Faithful Shepherd* (1972). Undergirding this was a typological interpretation of events quite in accord with Puritan speculation as formulated, in part, by Henry Ainsworth (c. 1560-1622/3), filled out in its general apocalyptic dimensions by Joseph Mede and, more particularly for Edwards, by Moses Lowman (1680-1752). Stein shows Edwards' extensive dependence upon Lowman. While not in complete agreement about all phases of the approaching millennial age, it was Lowman who confirmed Edwards in his conviction that the worst days of the church were past with history becoming increasingly favorable for the saints of God.

Keeping in mind Edwards' conception of God's sovereignty, with Christ acting as the agent of history through a series of spiritual comings, it is important to see the *Humble Attempt* within this broader apocalyptic framework. Divided into three sections, the second part, which outlines the reasons for participating in the concert of prayer, is filled with millennial imagery. In the final section Edwards further defines his own eschatological views in contradistinction to those who argue for a period of calamity before the millennial kingdom and those who argue against its historical immediacy. For Edwards, both groups undermine the confidence of the

church and zeal of Christians. The close connection between Christian eschatology and prayer has been marked by theory and practice since the earliest days of the church, epitomized by the cry of the martyrs under the alter in the book of Revelation, chapter 6:9-11. In his own theory and practice, Edwards furthers this tendency in Christianity. In an interesting, almost contemporary way one can see here the first American "charismatic movement" ending in a prayer meeting, a mark of American piety from Edwards' day down to our own.

Four important conclusions arise from a study of this volume. We see, first of all, a major American theologian at his best and at his worst. No longer is Edwards only a paragon of "the life of the mind," author of treatises like *Freedom of the Will*, but we find a mind based firmly upon the prejudices and intellectual limitations of his own age. Reading Edwards in this "apocalyptic" fashion is like a return to our own theological roots. We are shown an exclusive Protestant appropriation of history which leaves one with little doubt about what the Roman Catholic repartee to such historiography must be. Here are all of the spectres that lie behind Ulster and wherever else Protestant and Catholic are unable to coexist. Furthermore, we find that eschatological speculation is integral to all of Edwards' thought and pastoral concerns. The book of Revelation was the only book of the Bible for which Edwards thought it necessary to construct a separate notebook. He was a consistent apocalypticist. Therefore, this information, when read along side the eschatological sermons of 1739 and sketch for the projected "History of Redemption," offers us a picture of what that work might have been like had Edwards been able to complete it prior to his death. Finally, both as a corrective to Alan Heimert's thesis as noted earlier, and as a corroboration of it, Stein shows as an Edwards who, along with the pervasive theology of the Great Awakening, is not the unitary formative influence in the development of new eschatological ideas in eighteenth-century New England. He, and that movement, were part of new ideas which had been brewing and receiving new force and form long before the awakening of the 1740's.

Stephen J. Stein's edited edition of the apocalyptic writings of Jonathan Edwards is an

important source book and key to the influence of one who has been regarded as the American theologian of greatest formative influence upon thought and social structures in the new Republic. Edwards' thorough and continuous dipping into the well springs of apocalyptic speculation further confirms the importance of this mode of thinking for the study of American history and religion as noted forty years ago by H. Richard Niebuhr in *The Kingdom of God in America*. This volume helps form an important chapter in the ongoing revision of Edwardsian scholarship.

RODNEY L. PETERSEN

Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church, by Frederick Sontag. Abingdon Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1977. Pp. 224. \$8.95.

This book has already provoked the same sorts of diverse reactions that attend the Reverend Moon and his followers in real life. Sontag asserts at the outset that it is his intention to avoid taking sides. He proposes to write an objective inquiry into the nature and destiny of the Unification Church. Most readers will at least agree that he has over-achieved in trying to be fair. Even Harvey Cox, in a recent *Christianity and Crisis* article, observes that Sontag's effort is "almost obsessively 'objective.'" Others, far less benevolent in their reactions, will feel that Sontag himself has been intoxicated with "Moonshine." Sontag, they will say, has overlooked the true peril of the Unification movement, and failed to come to grips with the various charges—political and economic as well as spiritual—which are presently laid at the feet of the Reverend Moon and his cohorts. An independent church paper which is usually known for its solid support of liberal causes recently felt it necessary to offer a belated disclaimer on the publication of Abingdon's *advertisement* for the book, noting that the author "certainly completed his assignment much more open to the movement than we think is warranted." Even the publishers themselves have hedged their bets, offering a preface which states that "the views of the author are not necessarily those of the publisher; nor does publication imply endorsement or support of the Unification Church,

its leaders, tenets, or activities." With this sort of controversial image, it goes without saying that Sontag's book is selling at a rapid pace, and already into multiple printings.

The book itself is the result of a rather extensive investigation on Sontag's part. His extensive bibliography of "Moonie" materials is buttressed by personal visits to a variety of Unification communities in Europe, Asia, and the United States. Much of the text of three of the seven chapters is comprised of verbatim quotations from various members and former members of Moon's organization. Sontag suggests that the material in these chapters may well be the most important part of the book. Perhaps he should have more confidence in the value of his own prose; surely he should be less sanguine about the impact of the undigested lumps of material which he has presented in the travelogues! This material should have been winnowed and balanced before publication, and there should have been some attempt to evaluate the recurrent themes with greater care.

Another chapter is made up of the transcript of a long personal interview between the author and the Reverend Moon himself. This material is somewhat more helpful than the myriad of quotations from his followers. Sontag asked the cultic leader most of the questions which should have been raised, and he usually did so in a way which did not indicate either agreement or disagreement with Moon or his antagonists. Moon's answers are occasionally revealing, though he often seems to be following well-worn paths of rhetoric. In several instances, the opportunity for following up or pursuing points of dispute seems to have been lost. Nevertheless, the interview is a high point of the book.

The most substantial portions of Sontag's work, though, from the standpoint of serious investigation of the Moonie phenomenon, are the chapters labelled "What Does the Doctrine Teach?" and "What Can the Movement Teach Us?" Were it not for these two chapters, this would be just another "instant book" on pop religion. Although most readers will not be willing to yield the profusion of benefit-of-the-doubt concessions which Sontag allows, it is undoubtedly true that he has raised a number of very substantial questions about the movement and the reasons for its success.

Frederick Sontag has probably exaggerated

when he says: "Evaluate the Unification Church movement adequately and you have understood our era." Nevertheless, we can learn a great deal about the needs and opportunities of traditional Christianity as we take seriously the appeal of this cult which has embodied the hopes of a few Americans and the fears of so many of us in the present decade.

JOHN W. KUYKENDALL

Auburn University
Alabama

The Dove in Harness, by Philip Mason. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, N.Y., 1976. Pp. 189. \$8.95.

The Dove in Harness is based upon a lecture series, delivered in Oxford in 1975, sponsored by the Scott Holland Trustees. The purpose of these lectures—given every three years—is to express and illuminate the beliefs of Henry Scott Holland (Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral until his death in 1917), that the Incarnation is the center of Christianity, and that Christianity must be expressed in concern for the social and economic life of contemporary human beings. The author, a layman, had served for twenty years in the Civil Service in India; since then, he has written some twenty-five books, including *The Men Who Ruled India*, *Kipling*, and *Christianity and Race*. In his preface, Philip Mason writes that he accepted the lectureship assignment partly because "a layman from his ignorance may be able to speak to other laymen when a theologian is hampered by the weight of his knowledge" (p. 10).

Mason has wrought an apologetics for Christianity as a practical way of life, showing ways in which the "dove of inspiration" can be harnessed to the "bullock-cart" of everyday living. The teachings of the gospels, says Mason, are radical and subversive. Hardly anyone lives by them, and if they did society would be destroyed. Does it make sense, he asks, to accept as a working creed a religion which says, "Take no thought for the morrow," "Turn the other cheek," "Deny yourself," "Hate your father and mother?" These and other issues Mason addresses out of his own life's wrestling with doubt and faith. An imaginary skeptic, Nokes, is Mason's

antagonist: What practical answers can Christianity give about the problems of materialism, force, violence, sex and marriage?

Mason deals with the paradox and irony inherent in Christianity, with metaphors by which the Christian faith and life must be approached (better understood by the poet than by a Euclidean). Into his discussion he weaves the lives, thoughts and writings of Augustine, Aquinas, Blake, Hopkins, Traherne, Donne, St. Francis, Dostoëvsky. And he liberally shares his own experiences in Africa and India.

Many of the problems facing those who would appropriate Christianity as a practical faith arise from the influences of heresies which have been in existence since the beginning of Christendom. The heresies of Manichaeism (matter is evil), Pelagianism (man

is self-sufficient), Arianism (God is remote), and Docetism (Christ's sufferings were not real) are, Mason shows, alive and well in the world today, and must be repudiated by an affirmation of the Incarnation. In making this affirmation, Mason also affirms life as joyously sacramental, affirms persons as signs of the Incarnation, and, yes, affirms Christianity as making the utmost sense as a practical framework for daily life.

The Nokeses in our midst—the skeptics, the puzzled, those who object to the impracticality of religion—will find *The Dove in Har-ness* a challenging case for Christianity. And so will others already secure in their faith, who will appreciate the articulate apologetics of a layman giving intelligent witness to his faith.

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John M. Mulder is Assistant Professor of American Church History at Princeton Theological Seminary and Assistant Editor of *Theology Today*.

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Book Notes

by DONALD MACLEOD

McCLELLAN, Robert W., *Claiming A Frontier: Ministry and Older People*. The University of Southern California Press, University Park, Los Angeles, Ca., 1977. Pp. 125. \$3.50 (paper).

The author of this volume is a member of the ministerial staff of the Point Loma Community Presbyterian Church in San Diego, California. An alumnus of Princeton Theological Seminary and of San Francisco Theological Seminary (D.Min.), Dr. McClellan has addressed himself in his studies to the phenomenon of aging. "The topic of aging and the aged," he writes, "has surfaced as one of today's social and spiritual frontiers." Academic dissertations do not always commend themselves for popular consumption; however, the merits of the subject and the timeliness of Dr. McClellan's findings indicated a new dimension of ministry was calling for the attention of churches, synagogues, and community centers. Here is a source book of timely quality with useful information to help ministers and other religious workers enter the new frontier of service among the growing numbers of our aging population.

WINTER, Colin O'Brien, *Namibia*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 234. \$4.95 (paper).

The Bishop of Stepney, Trevor Huddleston, says about this book, "Everyone concerned about peace on the African continent must have an intelligent appreciation of the vital significance of Namibia. This book is written by one who knows and understands every aspect of the struggle for human rights, for political freedom, symbolized by that country." This account by Bishop Winter of racial segregation and oppression in South West Africa and of his humanitarian struggle in the face of rigid apartheid is one of the most authentic and revealing presentations and indictments one is privileged to read. Deported in 1972, Bishop Winter is now liv-

ing in London but retains his office as Bishop in Exile. On behalf of his Diocese of Damaland he has spoken before the United Nations and continues to make appeals in the name of "genuine discipleship" before audiences throughout the world.

MORGAN, Jill (ed.), *This Was His Faith*. Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 331. \$3.95 (paper).

This paperback is a reprint of an earlier compilation of the "expository letters" of the great Christian evangelist, G. Campbell Morgan. "Great preachers are not necessarily good letter-writers," declares Jill Morgan in the Foreword. Dr. Morgan was an exception. He was never dilatory in taking care of personal correspondence. "His diary, which was entered up each day, carried on the outer margin a list of the names of all those to whom letters had been sent. . . . These letters numbered many thousands in the course of a lifetime" (p. 12). Many of these letters were inquiries about biblical exposition, the Church's teachings, death and the life beyond. The collection reveals, therefore, "a cross section of the serious thinking of people who wanted honest answers and practical help in understanding the Scriptures and in solving the problems that are universal among people the world over" (p. 14). The material is arranged in six parts: The Bible; The Church; Christian Life and Doctrine; Death and the Future State; The Second Coming of Christ; and Personal. Two indices—topical and textual—are helpful addenda to this useful volume in the G. Campbell Morgan Library.

MORRISON, James D. (ed.), *Masterpieces of Religious Verse*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977 (paperback reprint of 1948 edition). Pp. 701. \$9.95.

The editor of this anthology remarks in the Foreword that he began in a dugout in France during the closing days of World

War I to tuck away on scraps of paper odd bits of verse. "In this volume," he continues, "I've tried to bring together in convenient form the best religious verse I've come upon" (xiii). As for the quality of the materials he says, "Some of the best poetry of this century is religious poetry." This collection consists of 2020 poems, divided into seven books, according to the following subjects: God, Jesus, Man, Christian Life, Kingdom of God, The Nation and The Nations. There are four indices: authors, titles, first lines, and topics. This is an unusually fine collection of poetry. No preacher can afford to be without it.

SAYRE, Francis B., Jr., *To Stand in the Cross*. The Seabury Press, New York, N.Y., 1978. Pp. 80. \$5.95.

Technically this book is an elegant example of fine printing, artistic illustration, and editorial propriety. The author, who retires this year from a twenty-six year ministry as dean of the Washington National Cathedral, has written a series of meditations on the events of Good Friday and linked them with architectural facets of the great gothic edifice which suggest the basic aspects of our Christian heritage. The book falls into eight parts: The Cross, Love, Life, Freedom, Truth, Spirit, The Miracle, and Mystery. These are thoughtful reflections from the mind of a serious meditator who takes his perspective from the "crossing" in the cruciform shape of the cathedral and points us to the parallel dimensions of our Christian belief. The book is enriched by prayers by Jeffrey Cave and selected engravings by Babs Gaillard.

NEUMEYER, Murray W., *Your Own Steps Along the Way*. United Church Press, New York, N.Y., 1977. Pp. 190. \$5.95.

This is a rather unusual book. The author, who is minister at the Bethel United Methodist Church, Camden, New Jersey, and an alumnus of Princeton Theological Seminary, has set down for us in clear style the mood and substance of his convictions regarding preaching, liturgical creativity, pastoral communication, personal counselling and supportive therapy, and administrative skill. No

one can review adequately the contents of this volume. It is chock-full of sermon ideas, pastoral directives, program projections, etc., which take on a contagious liveliness from a minister who believes with enthusiasm that we are "in a new age of discovering things to come in Christian ministry" (p. 11).

TROEGER, Thomas H., *Rage! Reflect. Rejoice! (Praying with the Psalmists)*. The Westminster Press, Phila., Pa., 1977. Pp. 96. \$3.95 (paper).

The Psalms are generally regarded as the hymnbook of the Hebrew people. The author of this slim volume indicates how much of the substance of the Psalms is prayer. "Prayer," he writes, "is discovering that someone understands us. The Psalms make this clear. . . . They have the same feelings as we have. The psalmists rage against God. They storm. They plead. They weep. They explode in desperation. . . . They give thanks. They praise God with every instrument in the orchestra. . . . Anger and joy, fear and praise still define the inner state of persons who struggle with life and who seek God's presence" (pp. 9, 10). In the course of nine studies of Psalms the author, who is assistant professor of Preaching and Worship at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, uncovers fresh ideas in and through his expositions and concurrently teaches us a very great deal about the nature and practice of meaningful praying. This is a stimulating guide for retreats or study groups.

VIGEVNO, Henk, *Dear David*. Regal Books, Glendale, Ca., 1977. Pp. 96. \$2.25.

This is a precious book which only those who have known the searing stroke of grief can fully appreciate and understand. It comprises a father's lament over the sudden death of his teenage son from a bullet fired by "a very sick man." The essence of this admirable book is summed up as follows: "In a simple but moving style, the author bares the anguish, hurt, and loneliness of losing a loved one. But at the same time he shares insights from his heart and the Scriptures that comfort and help. *Dear David* is

more than just a book. It is a unique experience in confronting death, grief, and the unanswerable questions that come to us all." The author, a Presbyterian minister and an alumnus of Princeton Theological Seminary, is the author of six books and a well-known pastoral counsellor and radio evangelist.

TENGBOM, Mildred, *Table Prayers*. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., 1977. Pp. 128. \$1.95 (paper).

This slim volume will meet a long felt need. The author and compiler quotes from a study cited by Billy Graham that "only one out of forty marriages ends in divorce when parents attend church regularly, and only one out of four hundred when both parents with their children attend church regularly and maintain family devotions" (p. 13). To assist parents towards this end Mildred Tengbom suggests the use of a book of table prayers to supplement Bible and hymnbook in evening devotions. Here is a wealth of resources, many by the author, some responsive and others contemporary revisions of classic prayers, and an interesting collection of "prayers from other lands." The author, in the Preface, calls for perseverance in devotions in a time of so many domestic distractions. "Prayer *does* change us," she declares.

CLAYPOOL, John, *Stages: The Art of Living the Expected*. Word Books, Inc. Waco, Texas, 1977. Pp. 90. \$4.95.

After pastorates in Louisville, Ky., and Ft. Worth, Texas, John Claypool is presently the minister at Northminster Baptist Church, Jackson, Miss. This book is something of "a guide, a well-drawn road map that uses the

life of David in the Bible to illustrate some of the challenges, obstacles, and phases awaiting us." Much has been written which purports "to get people ready for the morning period of life," but "there is really a gap in terms of serious training for the period after forty" (p. 13). Dr. Claypool has attempted here an overview and in the course of four sermons he discusses life's basic stages: childhood (annointed with delight); adolescence (the valley of transition); adulthood (up and down the mountain); senior adulthood (focus on being). A good writer, with a serious biblical and cultural orientation, Dr. Claypool provides us with travel signals towards a more meaningful destiny and the belief "that in all things—the bitter and the sweet—God is at work for good" (p. 90).

MILLER, W. McElwee, *What Is The Baha'i Faith?* Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977. Pp. 151. \$3.95.

This book is an abridgment by William N. Wysham of an earlier book by William McE. Miller, entitled *The Baha'i Faith: Its History and Teachings* (1974). Dr. Miller, who served for forty-three years as a missionary to what is now called Iran, writes out of an extensive and intimate study of the Baha'i movement and its literature. It is a fascinating story with many contemporary implications in view of the interest of modern young people in religious movements of Eastern origins. Dr. Wysham, who served in Iran for twenty years as one of Miller's colleagues, has done a remarkable editorial job in condensing Dr. Miller's earlier book (443 pp.) into a very handy volume. Both Drs. Miller and Wysham are alumni of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Prayer

Eternal God, our Father, who art the Lord of heaven and of all the earth, in whom and through whom all things consist and without whom no one of us can truly live, we lift up our souls and all that is within us to adore and bless thy holy Name. Now that the daylight fills the sky, we come from classroom, home, and dormitory; and in this quiet and central place we become a campus family around thy throne of grace.

We thank thee for the blessing and privilege of this hour of worship: for a time to praise thee for new life that is rich and strong; for moments of reflection upon the wonder of thy Gospel at work in the world; and for the presence of believing men and women who focus mind and heart upon him who is the founder of our common faith.

O thou who are the creator of the nations of men and women everywhere, and who hast put the act of remembrance at the heart of all our worship, we bring to thee today the cares and troubles of a wayward and disillusioned world. Help people everywhere to recognize and embrace the things that make for peace, and to count no sacrifice too great to shoulder the burden of the foodless and unsheltered people of this earth. Bless, we pray thee, the President of our country and all associated with him in positions of trust and service. Undergird their destiny and ours in these difficult times with the strong arm of thy Spirit and may the witness of Christian men and women in churches, universities, and government create a national conscience that will not fail.

And now, O God, we bring to thee ourselves with all our needs and doubts and fears. Purge us from the inclination always to save ourselves at the expense of so many less fortunate than we are. May our daily worship deepen our friendships with those around us, whose faith we respect and whose devotion we admire. May the word and prayers of the sanctuary lift us above envy, falsehood, and pride. Nourish us in the things of truth through thy Word which is Truth. Show us here anew thy grace and love so that in living them we may always be kind and thoughtful and good. O Thou who hast brought us to the beginning of this day, we ask now for the presence of the living Christ wherever we go and in whatever we do. May Christ be near us to defend us; may Christ be within us to refresh us; may Christ be around us to preserve us; may Christ be before us to guide us; may Christ be above us to bless us. And now as our Savior has taught us, so let us pray,

"Our Father who . . ."

(Prayer offered at Morning Chapel, November 10, 1977, by Professor Donald Macleod and printed here by request.)

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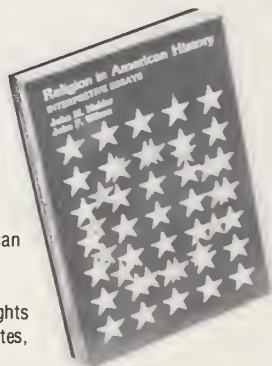
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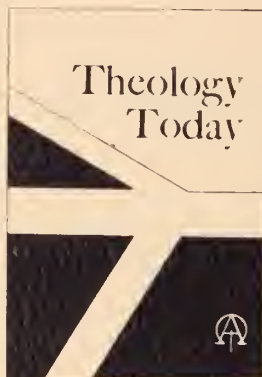
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